

# The Review of English Studies

A Quarterly Journal of  
English Literature and the English Language

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OXFORD

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

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All other correspondence should be addressed to the Publisher: Geoffrey Cumberlege, Oxford University Press, Amen House, Warwick Square, London, E.C. 4.

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# The Review of English Studies

VOL. IV, NEW SERIES, NO. 15

JULY 1953

## AN EARLY FRAGMENT OF THE OLD ENGLISH MARTYROLOGY

By CELIA SISAM

THE ninth-century fragment of the Old English *Martyrology*, which is now Additional MS. 40165 A, was acquired by the British Museum in 1921. It was unknown when Herzfeld made his edition,<sup>1</sup> and has not been published in full.<sup>2</sup> It provides fresh evidence for the textual history of the *Martyrology*, and it has philological interest as a supplement to Sweet's *Oldest English Texts*.<sup>3</sup>

### *Description of the manuscript*

The fragment consists of two consecutive conjugate leaves—evidently the innermost bifolium of a quire—which were used as fly-leaves for a twelfth-century Latin manuscript.<sup>4</sup> The tops of the leaves have been cut slantwise, so that two, or two and a half, lines of text are lost at the beginning of each page. Both outer margins have been pared away; the second leaf has suffered the worse, losing between five and eleven letters from each line on the right margin of f. 2a and the left margin of f. 2b. The two outside pages, folios 1a and 2b, seem to have been pasted down at one time.<sup>5</sup> Both are rubbed, and parts of f. 2b remain illegible under ultra-violet light. The manuscript, which was very compact, originally had thirty or thirty-one lines to a page, and the area covered by text was about  $7\frac{1}{4}$  by 5 inches. The hand is of the end of the ninth century. It is suggestive of a gloss-hand,

<sup>1</sup> *An Old English Martyrology*, ed. George Herzfeld (E.E.T.S., 1900).

<sup>2</sup> The two middle pages, ff. 1b and 2a, are published in facsimile with a transcript by the New Palaeographical Society, Series II (London, 1921), pl. 102. The facsimile of f. 1b fails to show the ends of the lines, so that from two to eight letters in each line do not appear.

<sup>3</sup> *The Oldest English Texts*, ed. Henry Sweet (E.E.T.S., 1885).

<sup>4</sup> Now B.M. Addit. MS. 40165B.

<sup>5</sup> See New Pal. Soc. II, description of pl. 102.

very small and cramped, and often hard to read: for instance *utan* 2a/24<sup>1</sup> could easily be read as *inne*. Red ink is used for large capitals and for the curious line-fillers. The only contractions found are 7 commonly for *ond*, and *sēs*, *sēe*, *sēi*, regularly for *sanctus*, *sancte*, *sancti*.

*Relationship of the manuscripts*

The manuscripts, none of which is complete, are:

A = B.M. Addit. MS. 23211, two leaves written late in the ninth century, one of which contains a fragment of the *Martyrology* covering the days 14–23 April.<sup>2</sup>

B = B.M. Cotton MS. Julius A x, written c. 1000<sup>3</sup> in four hands. The *Martyrology* occupies ff. 44a–175b.<sup>4</sup> The missing portions are: 25–31 December, 25 January to 27 February, 13–18 March, 24 June to 2 July, 11 November to 24 December.

C = Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 196, written c. 1050. The *Martyrology* occupies pp. 1–110.<sup>5</sup> Missing portions are: 25 December to 19 March, 21–24 December.

D = Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 41. A fragment of the *Martyrology* for 25–31 December has been copied into the margins of pp. 122–32 in the eleventh century.<sup>6</sup>

E = B.M. Addit. MS. 40165 A, the late ninth-century fragment which is here printed, covering the days 2–10 May. The physical characteristics of E show that it was not part of the manuscript to which A belonged.

Now that the E fragment is available, the manuscript relations must be reconsidered;<sup>7</sup> and the investigation is difficult because the earliest witnesses, A and E, do not overlap and cannot be directly compared. Herzfeld, whose diagram of the manuscript relations is reproduced on p. 212 below,

<sup>1</sup> For the *Martyrology*, references quoting pages 1a–2b are to the text here printed pp. 217 ff. Otherwise I refer to Herzfeld's edition by page and line.

<sup>2</sup> Printed by T. O. Cockayne, *The Shrine* (London, 1864–70), pp. 71 ff.; by Sweet, op. cit., pp. 177 f.; less exactly by Herzfeld, pp. 56 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For the dating of MSS. B, C, D, and for confirmation of the scribal divisions of B, I am indebted to Mr. Neil Ker. The four scribes of B copied as follows: Scribe 1, ff. 44a–129b (*monað* 132/13). Scribe 2, ff. 130a–134a (*mæghe* 138/26); ff. 138b–145a/9 (*þhy* 146/1–*was* *heaf*–156/17); ff. 146a–153b/9 (*de se bisceop* 158/6–*þa cwæð* 170/13). Scribe 3, ff. 134b–138a (*æt* 138/26–*hors* 146/1); f. 145a/9–145b (*de becorfen* 156/17–*þa nol*–158/6); ff. 153b/10–156a/11 (*cwæð* 170/13–*ætforan* 174/6). Scribe 4, ff. 156a/12–175b (*godes* 174/6–*bið* 204/4).

<sup>4</sup> Printed by Cockayne, op. cit., pp. 44 ff., and by Herzfeld, pp. 10 ff. Herzfeld's text is unreliable in detail, whereas Cockayne's, as far as I have examined it, is accurate.

<sup>5</sup> Cockayne and Herzfeld print C where it supplies parts missing in B, viz. 24 June to 2 July, 11 November to the end. I am indebted to the College and to Professor Bruce Dickins for opportunities of examining C and D.

<sup>6</sup> Printed by Cockayne, op. cit., under the heading 'Yule Week', pp. 29–33; and by Herzfeld, pp. 2–10.

<sup>7</sup> For lack of evidence, I do not discuss the relation of D to the other MSS.



assumed that B and C did not derive from A, though the only piece of evidence I have noticed is not very strong: against A's *sungen* (= *swungen*) 56/22, B agrees with C in reading *ofswungen*, which, from its rarity, has claims to be considered original.<sup>1</sup> Herzfeld concluded that B preserved the original better than C, because B agrees closely with A, while C diverges considerably.

But C seems to be nearer to E than B is. In the A passage there are 44 instances where one manuscript differs from the reading in which the other two manuscripts agree.<sup>2</sup> Of these 44, 3 are in A, 1 in B, and 40 in C. In the E passage there are 115 such instances, of which 12 are in E, 60 in B, and 43 in C. E is about three times as long as A; so that, by tripling the figures for the A passage, we get comparable numbers:

In the A passage: A 9      B 3      C 120

In the E passage: E 12      B 60      C 43

These figures are striking, though the readings they summarize are of unequal significance. Assuming that no abnormalities of transmission have affected B or C in these two passages, and that A and E are fair samples of the manuscripts from which they came, they suggest: (i) that B follows A closely,<sup>3</sup> and that therefore most of B's variants from EC would have been present in A; (ii) That C represents E better than B does, and that about half C's variants from (A)B would have been present in E.

C's affinity with E is confirmed by decisive readings: e.g. 2b/10 EC read *on ðære bec* against B's *ðæm bocum*; 1a/25 EC read *byrgenne ond* [*hys C*] *lichoman*, but B omits *byrgenne ond*; 2b/17 EC read *Cristes þegen* against B's *Cristen*; 2a/28 EC read *micelre* against B's *clænre*. E and C also give evidence of omissions in their common source which prove that it was not the original: in 1b/24 E omits *wæron* (preserved in B) after *aswengede*, and C's *swengdon* is an attempt to remedy the error; in the next sentence, 1b/25, another hand has supplied *wæron* in E in place of the missing *syndon* (preserved in B); and again C's *beoð* patches the omission.

That C does not derive from E is proved by the following readings: 1b/9 E reads *worldrices* against B *woroldlicre*, C *woruldlicre*; in 1a/24 C and E have made different omissions where B preserves the original reading; B has *ðær com upp of ðære eorðan wynsumes stences réc ðær seo rod wæs*

<sup>1</sup> The only example of *ofswingan* recorded by Bosworth-Toller is from Alfred's *Orosius*. If *ofswungen* is the correct reading, A does not reproduce the original exactly.

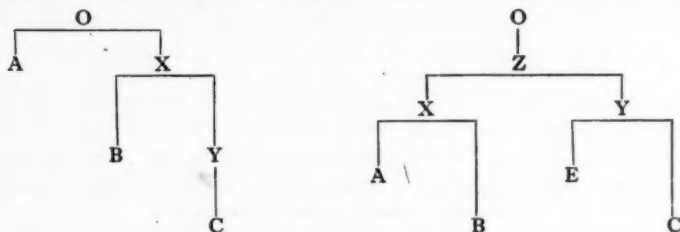
<sup>2</sup> For this purpose, all but mere spelling variants are included; scribal errors are not distinguished from intelligent variants.

<sup>3</sup> But B sometimes deviates from the original: e.g. the West-Saxon King Ceadwealla is substituted for Cedd 194/20; and an interpolation states that half Aidan's bones were at Glastonbury, where they were brought in the tenth century; C gives the original version: *hys þan syndon helf on Scoottū, helf on Sēe Cuðberhtes mynstre* [in Northumbria] 158/24 (see Herzfeld, introd., pp. xxx f.).

*gemeted*; 7 *ðy ilcan dæge þe seo rod wæs gemeted, þæt treow . . .*, E omits *ond ðy ilcan . . . gemeted*, and C omits *ðær seo rod wæs gemeted*.

So we have two branches of the *Martyrology* text, AB and EC, each represented by two independent manuscripts.

There are indications that EC represents a recension of the text, while AB preserves an earlier form. In the E passage, B (representing AB) often lacks inessential words and phrases in EC, such as *ond*, *eac*, *á* 'always', *he* (where the subject can be understood), *þe hatte* 'which is called'. Where EC has two equivalent words or phrases joined by 'and', B shows one only: e.g. B omits *byrgenne ond* in 1a/25 (see above), and similarly B omits *in ecnesse ond* in 2a/30, *á in ecnesse ond in ðære hiofonlican heanesse*.<sup>1</sup> Such divergencies are not likely to have been caused by abridgement in the AB text: rather they are the amplifications of some reviser. We may suppose, then, that A and B descend from X, E and C from a retouched form, Y. Herzfeld (p. xviii) has shown that certain errors are common to B and C. The convincing examples are: 128/17 *ðone Iacobum se wælgrimma hyrde acwealde*, where both manuscripts read *hyrde* for *Herodes*;<sup>2</sup> and 190/13 *Nonnus se biscop sægde godspel be ðam toweardan Godes lombe*, where *lombe* (C *lambe*) is a mistake for *dome*. So X and Y derive from a manuscript Z which provided them with a common fund of error. As far as the evidence goes, the relationship of the manuscripts seems to be that indicated by the diagram on the right below, as against Herzfeld's diagram on the left.



#### Date

The A and E fragments of the late ninth century prove that the Old English text was in existence in Alfred's reign. This is supported by the copy of the West-Saxon royal genealogy in A,<sup>3</sup> which ends with Alfred's accession. It is reasonably assumed that the Old English text was based on a lost Latin *Martyrology* current in England.<sup>4</sup> But there is no way of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Herzfeld, *introd.*, p. xv (3).

<sup>2</sup> This and the following correction were made by Cockayne.

<sup>3</sup> See Sweet, *O.E.T.*, p. 179.

<sup>4</sup> See Herzfeld, *introd.*, p. xxxii, and F. Liebermann, 'Zum Old English Martyrology', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, &c., cv. (1900), pp. 86 f.

telling whether the translator followed the Latin strictly, or whether he modified it. Liebermann thought that the Latin text was written before 875, because there is no mention in the *Martyrology* of Swithun or King Edmund of East Anglia (d. 869-70) and because various churches which had by that time been destroyed by the Danes are mentioned as if they were still extant. This is probable enough, although there is no certainty that new cults would be immediately admitted into a work which, in its English form, was copied as late as the eleventh century with hardly any adaptation to changed conditions.

On the assumption that the translator followed a Latin Martyrology in essentials, that compilation is not earlier than the ninth century. Wilmart<sup>1</sup> has shown that the introduction of the feast of All Saints on 1 November can be dated very closely to the year 800, in which year Alcuin commends it to his friend Arno, archbishop of Salzburg. In an early ninth-century notice, even in the British Isles where the feast of 1 November seems to have originated, one might have expected some hint that it was a recent innovation. At 1 November our *Martyrology* has:

On the first day of the month is the feast of All Saints. Pope Boniface first instituted this feast in Rome, when he dedicated the temple of idols that they call Pantheon on that day as a church for St. Mary and all Christ's martyrs. In that temple the Romans, when they were heathen, used to worship all their idols, and after they became Christian, they honoured the memory of all saints there. And the pope then decreed that this day should be kept every year in God's churches among Christian peoples with the same solemnity as the first day of Christmas, that is the first day of Yule.

This corresponds closely to a passage in the *Martyrology* of Ado, archbishop of Vienne, which has been often discussed in connexion with the feast of All Saints:<sup>2</sup>

Festiuitas sanctorum omnium. Petente namque Bonifacio, iussit Phocas imperator in ueteri fano, quod Pantheon uocabatur . . . ecclesiam beatae semper uirginis Mariae et omnium martyrum fieri, ut ubi quondam omnium non deorum sed daemoniorum cultus agebatur, ibi deinceps omnium fieret memoria sanctorum; quae ab illo tempore kalendis nouembris in urbe Roma celebris et generalis agitur.

<sup>1</sup> André Wilmart, 'Un Témoin anglo-saxon du calendrier métrique d'York', *Revue Bénédictine* (Jan. 1934), pp. 51 ff. I owe this reference to my father, Kenneth Sisam.

<sup>2</sup> As quoted by Wilmart, p. 52 n. (Migne, *P.L.* cxxiii, 387 c). In the part corresponding to the Old English *Martyrology*, Ado follows Florus of Lyons (ed. H. Quentin, *Les Martyrologues historiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1908), p. 370), who wrote a little earlier and was the first to connect the new Feast of 1 November with the dedication of the Pantheon in the year 610: this latter properly belongs to 13 May. Ado uses almost the same words, but Florus has *Haec festiuitas omnium sanctorum generalis est Romae before Petente namque*, while Ado adds *quae ab illo . . . agitur after memoria sanctorum*. The Old English *Martyrology* agrees better with Ado's order. Ado goes on to give an account of the introduction of the new feast in the Frankish kingdom, which would not concern an English compiler.

And Ado wrote about the middle of the ninth century. Cockayne<sup>1</sup> had suggested that Ado's work was used for other entries in the *Martyrology*. Herzfeld<sup>2</sup> dismissed this as a mistake, because he thought, without any satisfactory evidence, that the Old English text was written about 850 and therefore could not borrow from Ado. So he confused the subject for later workers.

### Provenance

In its content the old English *Martyrology* gives indications of the Mercian origin which one would expect on historical grounds. The Mercian saints are well represented: Chad (2 March) of Lichfield and Guthlac (11 April) of Crowland were famous; but the inclusion of Chad's brother Cedd (26 October), Guthlac's sister Pega (9 January), and Abbot Hygebald (14 December) of Lindsey, all rare saints, is significant. So is the absence of West-Saxon saints, such as Birinus, Hædde, Aldhelm, who are mentioned in Bede. And although a number of Northumbrian saints are included, the translator refers to Northumbria as to a distant and unfamiliar place:<sup>3</sup> e.g. 32/16 f. *ðone Ceaddan ðyder se ercebiscop nam be nordan gemære on ðæm mynstre Læstenga yge 7 hine asænde Myrceon to biscope 7 Middelenhlum 7 Lindesfarum*. Ceolfrith (25 September) is vaguely described as *sumes haliges mynstres abbot be norðan gemære, þæt wæs gehalgod S̅c̅e Petre* 178/14 f. Herzfeld suggested Lincolnshire as the probable place of origin of the *Martyrology*. Liebermann thought the evidence pointed rather to Lichfield. Though such precise localizations are unjustified, there can be little doubt that it is a Mercian compilation.

### Language<sup>4</sup> of E

The E text shows a mixture of at least two dialects. The following points, taken together, are characteristic of Anglian:

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 143, &c.

<sup>2</sup> p. xxxv. Herzfeld, p. xxviii, dates the Latin source of the Old English *Martyrology* between 740 and 756. The earlier limit depends on a mistake about the date of the death of Abbot Hygebald (14 December). The later is deduced from the absence of Boniface at 5 June, although that day was ordered to be kept in England by a synod which met soon after his martyrdom in 755. But Boniface's feast lost its importance in England during the ninth century, and its omission is accounted for if the Latin text was compiled after 850.

<sup>3</sup> J. Chapman's suggestion, *Notes on the Early History of the Vulgate Gospels* (Oxford, 1908), pp. 159 ff., that the Latin text of the *Martyrology* was a Northumbrian compilation is not convincing.

<sup>4</sup> My statements on the language are based mainly upon the following authorities: P. J. Cosijn, *Altwestsächsische Grammatik* (The Hague, 1886-8); E. M. Brown, *Die Sprache der Rushworth Glossen zum Evangelium Matthäus und der mercische Dialekt*, i and ii (Göttingen, 1891-2); A. S. Napier, 'Ein altenglisches Leben des heiligen Chad', *Anglia*, x (1888), 131-56; R. Jordan, *Eigentümlichkeiten des englischen Wortschatzes* (Heidelberg, 1906).

- (i) *a* before a nasal regularly gives *o* (as in the Vespasian Psalter): *hond* 1a/7, &c.
- (ii) *a* before *l*+consonant is regularly unbroken: *cualde* 1a/12, &c.
- (iii) *e* is broken before *lf*: *seolf* 2a/16.
- (iv) The mutation of *ēa* is *e*: *alefed* 1b/8. For *nædan* 1a/13, *dægelle* 2a/23, see below, p. 216.
- (v) *ēo* (from *iu*) remains unmutated: *eorre* 1b/14, *onsione* 1b/24.
- (vi) Back mutation has occurred in *gewrioto* 1a/23, *niogoðan* 1b/6, *niogontig* 2b/29, *sionowalte* 1b/20, *siondon* 1b/25, 2a/16, *niomaf* 1b/26, *Breotone* 2a/20, *gebeodum* 2a/23, ? *ðeossum* 1a/16.
- (vii) The third person singular of the present indicative is regularly uncontracted: *haldeð* 2a/31, &c.
- (viii) *mid* is followed by the accusative in *mid hine* 1a/11.
- (ix) The preposition *in* is used (11 times).
- (x) The forms *ah* 'but' (three times), *nest* (superlative of *neah*) 1b/16, *gesegon* (pa. t. pl. of *seon*) 1b/16, *heht* (four times), *walde* (for *wolde*) 2b/14.
- (xi) The Anglian words *geleoreð* 2a/14, *geleornes* 2a/19, 2b/8; *nænig*<sup>1</sup> (four times); perhaps *rec* 1a/24.

But E shows West-Saxon characteristics also:

- (a) There are no examples of Anglian *e* from Germanic *æ*: *æ* appears regularly, e.g. *alætan*, *læcedom*, *lægon*, *wære*, &c.
- (b) West-Saxon diphthongization is usual, e.g. *ceastre*, *sceal*, *giefse* 'gift', *forgifað*, *geare*; also *sceolon*, *ofsceoten*, p.p.; but *get* appears twice, 1b/19, 2a/26.
- (c) Anglian smoothing is absent, e.g. *geseah*, *neah*, *meah*, *beorhtlice*, *weorc*, *ðeah*, *neahstowe*, *eagduru*, *lehtfæt*; but *cneht* 1a/8, *sextan* 2a/19 show smoothing.
- (d) The forms *ryhtlice* 1b/6, *biernende* 2a/7, *cierce* 1a/27, &c., are West-Saxon; so probably are *siendon*, *-an* (five times), *hiene* 2a/30, 2b/21, *hiera* 1b/4, 2a/5, though they might have been produced by analogy in any Anglian dialect which had *sie*, *hie*, forms regular in the Vespasian Psalter. There is no example of West-Saxon *ie* by mutation (see iv and v above).

South-eastern influence is perhaps responsible for certain *io* forms for *eo*.<sup>2</sup> The examples are: *iorðan* 2a/13; *hiofon* 1b/15, 17, 30, 30, *hiofontican* 2a/31 (beside *eo* forms in 1a/16, 1b/18 only). This agrees strikingly with the usage in A, where *heofon* has *eo* twice, *io* four times.

<sup>1</sup> See K. Jost, *Wulfstanstudien* (Bern, 1950), pp. 159 ff.

<sup>2</sup> E. Sievers, *Zum angelsächsischen Vocalismus* (Leipzig, 1900), shows that, except in the north, there was considerable irregularity in the use of *io*: *eo* at this period. *iorðan* appears in the Mercian *Lorica Prayer*, l. 6, ed. Sweet, *O.E.T.*, p. 174.

There remain a few forms unusual in any dialect: beside *cneht* 1a/8, there are three examples of *cneht* 1a/3, 5, 6, which is a spelling unrecorded by Bosworth-Toller and the standard grammars; the unmutated form *neah* 'night' 1a/18, 1b/7, 2a/7 is not found in early West-Saxon, and is rare except in the Tanner MS. of the Old English Bede; *nædan* 1a/13 and *dægelle* 2a/23 are uncommon forms, but cf. *cægeþ*, *gecæged*, &c., seven times in the Rushworth Matthew.<sup>1</sup> Most of these forms may be explained as the errors of a southern scribe who was adapting Anglian forms in the text he copied. It is difficult to account for *cneht* except as an attempt to West-Saxonize Anglian *cneht*.

### Conclusions

The Anglian characteristics in the language of E, none of which are distinctively Northumbrian, confirm the Mercian origin of the *Martyrology*. This is also attested by the Anglian words and forms surviving in the other manuscripts.<sup>2</sup> But, in the introduction to the facsimile published by the New Palaeographical Society, E is described as early West-Saxon, and the Mercian origin of the text is questioned. In fact E shows the same mixture of Anglian and West-Saxon forms as the A fragment.<sup>3</sup> Since A and E are independent, it is likely that the manuscript (Z) from which both derive was already in a mixed dialect. And it is significant that in B (where many Anglian words and forms survive throughout) the first scribe should have preserved at least seven examples of the rare, but presumably early West-Saxon spelling *cierce*, which—in the form *cierce*—is regular in E, and evidently goes back to Z. It might be argued that Z was a Mercian copy of a West-Saxon original. But the absence of West-Saxon saints in the *Martyrology*, the presence of Anglian words (as distinct from forms) in all the manuscripts, and the error in B and C by which *Herodes* is miscopied

<sup>1</sup> See Brown, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 75.

<sup>2</sup> For example A has *mid hine* (three times); *in* (eight times); *ah* 'but' 58/4; *mec* 'me' 58/18; *þec* 58/16, 60/12; *fotas* 'feet' 58/13; *heht* (three times); *walde* 58/6; perhaps *sceððe* 60/14 is Anglian.

B has *mid* followed by the accusative commonly, 102/7, 30/18, &c.; *in* commonly, especially in the parts written by scribes 2, 3, and 4; *þorh* 'through' 122/7; *ah* occasionally, 114/5, 9, &c.; *mec* once 124/10; *gesegon*, &c. commonly, 74/8, &c., cf. *forslegenlicne* for *forslegenlicne* 156/20; *hona* 'lo', which is characteristic of Mercian, 34/23; (*ge*)*leoran*, *geleornes* commonly, 102/17, 16/12, &c.; *aræfnan* 168/11, &c.; *eðian* 38/22, 66/22; *nænig* commonly, 134/14, &c.; less certainly Anglian are *rec* 72/11, &c.; *sceðpan* 172/6, &c.; *bebycgan* 'sell' 94/16, 100/15; *acennes*, *-nis* 102/24, &c., and *gehwerfnes* 30/23 (see Jordan, *op. cit.*, pp. 101 f.).

C, though it replaces most of the Anglian words found in B by their late West-Saxon equivalents, has *in* occasionally, 104/10, &c.; *fotas* (as in A) 126/9; *eðian* 66/22; *nænig* commonly, 160/18, &c.; *rec*, *riec*, 72/11, 152/8.

D has *eðian* 8/26; *nænig* 8/28; *acennis* 6/16.

<sup>3</sup> The resemblance between the language of A and E is marked. The only differences I have noticed are A's use of *sux* beside E's *sua*, and A's *biscep* beside E's *biscop*.



as *hyrde* (see above, p. 212)—a mistake which postulates Anglian *heorde* in the text from which Z derived—make the assumption of a West-Saxon original unacceptable. Both A and E show a Mercian modified for the use of West-Saxons and purged of its most distinctive phonological characteristics, such as the development  $\ddot{a} > e$ .<sup>1</sup>

It is possible that the Old English translation of the *Martyrology* was made in Mercia some time after 850 and brought south and copied there in the late ninth century. More probably the translation was carried out as part of the educational and church reforms under King Alfred. It may well have been written by one of the scholars he imported from Mercia, among whom was Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, a man of great influence, who was in a position to introduce such a book into the southern church.

### *The Text*

The text has been printed line for line from the manuscript, which I have read with the help of ultra-violet photographs.<sup>2</sup> No attempt has been made to emend it. Punctuation, hyphens, and capitalization are modern. Square brackets enclose conjectural restorations of letters cut away or illegible in the manuscript. Round brackets denote letters written above the line. Italics are used for doubtful letters partly visible. Where enough of a letter is visible for there to be no reasonable doubt, ordinary type is used. Footnotes record erasures, words added in the margin, and variant readings from the other manuscripts, excluding differences of spelling; variants common to B and C are quoted in the spelling of B.

- f. 1a O[n] ðone æfterran dæg þæs monðes biþ ðæs halg[an biscopes gemynd]  
*Sce* Athanasi. He uuæs biscop in ðære miclan ceast(r)e Alexandria.  
 His halignes uuæs foretacd on his cneathade. Pære burge biscop [æ]r  
 him was nemned Alexandre; se sæt sume symbeldæge in ðære *cierce-*  
 5 an, [7] ða geseah he ðurh ða eagduru plegean micel cnehta *wæroð* bi sæs  
 waroðe; þara uuæs an Aþanasias. Pa ongon he fulwian ða opere cnehtas  
 on þæs sæs ypum, 7 hie eodan him under hond sua he biscop wære. 7 ða sona  
 heht se biscop þone cneht him to gelædan, 7 hine lærde gastlicne wiðdorn;  
 7 he uuæs all mid Godes snyttro gefylled.  
 10 On ðone priddan dæg ðæs monðes bið *Sce* Alexandres þrowung, þæs iun(gan  
 papan),

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the treatment of the Mercian *Vespasian Psalter* gloss in the derived *Junius Psalter* copied at Winchester c. 925. Although many Anglian forms are retained, Mercian *e* from *æ* regularly appears as *æ*.

<sup>2</sup> By the courtesy of the staff of the Manuscript Department, I was also able to use the ultra-violet lamp on the MS. in the British Museum.

f. 1a. 1. on in margin beside initial. 2. alexandrie B. 3f. wæs sona B; ær] æ  
 obliterated by modern figure 6; ær him om. C. 5. ehpýrl C. 8. to hym C. 10. gan

- in Rome 7 tvegra mæssepreosta mid hine, þa wæran nemmede Sēs *Eu[entius]* 7 Sēs *Peodolus*. Ða *Aurelianus* se gesið, se ðær cualde Cristene menn, þa on gon he [h]ie nædan ðæt hie Criste wiþsocen. Ða hie ðæt ne geðafodan, þa heht he sendan hie alle prie in bernendne ofn. Ða nolde hie ðæt fyr no bærnan, ða heht
- 15 he ða mæssepreostas beheafðian 7 þone papan ofstician. Ða sona cuom stefn of heofonum 7 seo cuseð: 'Aurelianus, ðeossu monnum þe ðu her bismarodes him is Godes neorxnawong ontynd, 7 þe siendan helle tinfergu ontynd'. Ða sualt he sona ðære ilcan neaht mid egeslice deaðe; 7 his wiif, sio wæs on noman S[eue]-riane, hio bebyrgde ðæs papan lichoman 7 ðæra mæssepreosta árweorðli[ce]
- 20 on ðære seofodan mile from Romebyrg, on ðam wege þe hatte Nument[ana]. Þes Sēs Alexandre uuæs se fifta papa æfter Sçe Petre.

On ðone ilcan dæg biþ sio tiid ðæt Cristes rod uuæs gemeted ærest, sua [us] ða halg[a]n gewrioto secgaþ, on ðone dæg þe we nemnað quinta nonas *M[aias]*. Ðær cuom u[pp] of ðære eorðan wynsumes stences rec, þær sio rod uuæs gemete[d]. Ðæt tre]-

- 25 ow uuæs asetod ofer deades monnes byrgenne 7 lichoma(n), 7 se sona aras; [7 þurh] ðæt wundor uuæs gecyþed þæt ðæt uuæs soðlice *Cri(s)tes* rod. Ymb þas d[ag]as utan], hwilum ær, hwilum æfter, bioð ða prie dagas on ðam Godes ciercean 7 *Crist(es)* folc mærsiað letanias—þæt is þonne bene 7 relicgongas foran to *Cr[istes]* upas(t)ig-nesse.
- f. 1b [On ðam þrim dagum sceolon cuman to Godes ciercean ge weras ge wiif, ge alde menn ge iunge, ge þeowas ge þeowenne, to þingianne to Gode, forðon þe Cristes blod uuæ]s *gelic* agoten fore allum monnum. On ðam þrim da-
- 5 gum Cristene menn sceolon alætan hiera þa worldlican weorc on ða þrid-dan tid dæges, þæt is on undern, 7 forðgonge mid þara haligra reliquium op ða niogoðan tid, þæt is ðonne nón. Ða dagas siendan ryhtlice to gefæstan-ne, 7 ðara metta to brucanne þe menn brucaþ on ðæt fiowertiges neahta fæsten ær Eastrum; 7 ne bið alæfed on ðissum dagum ðæt monn him blod læte oþþe clæsnungdrencas drince oþþe oht feor gewite fore worldrises bisigung
- 10 from ðære stowe þe he sceal Gode æt piowian. Ðas prie dagas siendan monnes saule læcedom 7 gastlic wyrtdrenc; forþon hie siendon to haldonne mid heor-tan onbryrðnesse, ðæt is mid wependum gebedum 7 mid rumedlicum æl-messum 7 fulre blisse allra menniscra fionda, forðon þe God us forgi(f)eð his eorre, gief we ure monnum forgifað.
- 15 On ðone fiftan dæg þæs monðes bið se dæg þe ure Dryhten on to hiofo-num astag. Þy dæge hine gesegon nest his pegnas on Oliuetes dune, ðær he bletsade hie 7 ða gewat mid þy lichoman on hiofon. Þy dæge eode sio eorðe in heofon, þæt is se monn ofer ængla ðrym, 7 on Oliuetes dune si-endan nu get ða suaþu Dryhnes fotlæsta. Ymb þa Dryhtnes fotlæstas
- 20 timbredon Cristene menn sionowalte ciercean wundorlice. Ond ne me-ahte sio his suaþu næfre mid nænigre oðerre wisan bion þam oðe-

papan written in blank space at end of previous line. 11. hine altered to him by later hand  
B, hym C; euensius B. 12. þa om. B; he ong. B. 14. no om. B; bærnan ná C; 7 þa C.  
16. seo om. C. 17. siendan] syn B. 18. on þære C; nyhte C; egeslicu C. 20. þe  
hatte om. B. 22. ðæt] þe C.  
23. maius BC. 24. þær s. r. uu. gem. om. C; 7 ðy ilcan dæge þe seo rod was gem-  
eted BC, om. E after gemeted. 25. geseted B; byrgenne 7 om. B; hys lych. C; 7 þurh  
om. C. 26. þæt om. C; Cr. r. soðl. C. 27. ciricum B. 28. þæt ... relicgongas  
om. C; relic(qua)gongas B; upastignesse written below line E.  
f. 1b. 3. gelice BC. 5. forðgangan C, forðgongen B, correctly. 6. fæstenne B.  
8. fæstene C; 7 om. B; him om. B. 9. clæsnung-] á æsnung, with marginal correction by  
later hand clænsung B; for worldlicre bysgunge (abysgunge C) BC. 13. forðon þe]  
for C. 15. on in margin beside initial; on to] on om. B. 16. done B. 17. heofonum

rum flore geonlicad 7 gelice gehiowad. Gif ðær monn hwæt menniscas  
on asette, þonne nolde sio eorðe him onfon; ðeah hit wære marmarstan-  
as, þa aswengede on ðære onsion(e) þe ða þær on setton. Ðæt dust þat

- 25 God þær on træd 7 ða his swaþe þe ðær on áðrycced siondon (wæron) mon(n)um  
[to ecr]e lare, 7 dæghwamlice geleaffulle menn ðær niomap þæt sond,  
ond ðær hwæðere ne biþ nænegu wonung on ðam sonde ðære Dryht-  
nes fota swaþe. Sçe Arculuos sægde þæt ðær ne meahthe nænig  
hrof bion on ðære ciercean in þære stowe þe ure Dryhten on stod,  
30 he ða to hiofonum astag, ah þæt se weg þær wære á to hiofonum open
- f. 2a [þara monna eagum þe him þær gebædon in þære ilcan stowe; 7 he sægde  
þæt þa dryhtnes fotlastas wæron beworht mid ærne hweole, 7 þæs he-]  
annes wære oð monnes suioran, 7 ðæt þær wære ðyrel onm[iddum þam]  
hweole, þurh ðæt menn meahthen ufan beorhtlice sceawian [Dryhtnes]  
5 fota swaþu, 7 ðæt hie meahthen mid hiera hondum ræcan ond n[iman þæs]  
halgan dustes dæl. Ond Scs Arculuos sægde þæ ðær hongad[ e unmette]  
leohtfæt, 7 ðæt wære biernende á dæges 7 neahthes ofer þære Dry[htnes fota]  
swaþe; ond he sægde ðæt æghwelce gear e ðy dæge æt Cristes uppastignesse]  
on middes dæges tiid, æfter ðon þe mæssesongas wæron geendode in ð[ære ilcan]  
10 ciercean, ðæt ðær to cuome stronggestan windes ystæ, 7 ðæt se sua st[ronglice]  
hrure on ða ciercean, ðæt þær ne meahthe nænig monn ænige gemette [in þære cier-]  
cean beon, oðþe on hire neahstowe meahthe gestondan oðþe gesittan, ah [þæt alle þa]  
menn ðe ðær þonne wæran lægon aþenede on ðære iorðan mid ofdu[ne hal-]  
dum ondwlitan, oðþæt sio ondrys[nice yst forþgeleoreð. Se ondrys[nica wind]  
15 ðæt deð, þæt se ðel þære ciercean ne mæg habban ðone hrof þær ðæs h[æ]lendes]  
fotlastas under siondon. Sçe Arculuos sægde þæt he seolf þær w[ære ond]-  
weard æt ðære ilcan ciercean þy dæge æt Cristes uppastignesse, þ[a se stronga]  
7 se forhtlica wind onræsede.

On ðone sextan dæg þæs monðes bið Sçe Eadbrehtes geleorne[s þæs ár](wyrðan)  
[fæder],

- 20 se uuæs biscop on Breotone æfter Sçe Cupbrehte on ðæm halg[an myn]-  
stre ðe is nemned Lindesfarene éa. Ðam Eadbrehte uuæs gewunel[ic þæt he]  
symle feowertig daga ær Eastran 7 eac feowertig daga ær Cristes [acennis]-  
se, ðæt is ær geolum, he wunode on dægelle stowe on his gebeodum [7 on gast]-  
licum weof[er]cum; 7 sio stow uuæs utan ymburnen mid sæs streamum. Þa ofn þæt  
lenc]-
- 25 tenfæsten, on ðam (þæs) mynstres broðor dydon Sçe Cupbrehtes lic of [eorðan],  
7 hie ðæt gemettan sua gesund suelce he ða get lifde—7 ðæt uuæs [æ]fte[r endleofan]  
gearum þæs ðe he uuæs bebyrged—ða bæræn hie ðæs lichrægles dæl [to Eadbre]-  
hte þam biscope, ond he ðæt cyste mid micelre lufan, 7 he weop [þæt he mea]-

- B. 20. Ond om. B. 22. florū BC. 23. nolde om. B; onfon] on ufan scealde B.  
24. þa aswengede] þaas wengede E, þa swengdon C, þa wæron aswengde B, correctly; ð.  
onsion(e) e added above line in later hand E, ðara onsyn B, þæra ansyne C; ða] om. B, hig C;  
þær] er over erasure; setton] asetton C, sæton B. 25. God] he C; priced B; siondon  
wæron] wæron added above line by another hand E, s. beoð C, s. ða syndon B, correctly.  
26. ecre om. C; ðær om. B. 27f. ðære drihtne fotswaða B. 28. scs B; sægde] s and  
book under e in a later hand over erasure. 29. on beon on B. 30. þa he BC, correctly.  
f. 2a. 2. beworht B, beworhte C. 4. mihton men B, men men m. C. 6. halgan  
om. C; sçe C; þær for þæt E; upmæte B. 7. á om. B; á byrnendne C. 8. æghylce C.  
9. tide B. 10f. ðæt ðær . . . ða ciercean om. C; þæs stronggestan B. 11. ænige gemette]  
ænge gemete B, nænige mete C. 12. beon om. BC; þære neaweste C; meahthe om. B.  
13. ofdun ahyldū C. 14. geleoreð] gewyteð C. 16. fotlas C; syndon under B; scs B.  
18. þær onræsede B, onrærde C. 19. on in margin beside initial; gewytennys C. 21.  
éa] yǵ B; he fæste C. 22. eac om. B; acennednysse C. 23. þ he B. 24. utan om.  
B; sie C. 25. on ðam] þa C; þæs] þ above line E. 26. suelce] swa B; 7 ðæt uuæs om.  
B. 27. he om. B. 28. micelre] clænre B; he weop] he om. B.

- hte unaeðe ænig word cweðan, 7 he cweð: 'Hwylc mon mæg arecca[n Dryht]-  
 30 nes giefæ? He ðæt seleð þam ðe hiene lufiað ðæt þa saula lifiað [á in ecnesse]  
 7 in ðære hiofonlican hearnesse, 7 he haldeð ða deaðan lichoman [ungemolansode]
- f. 2b [under eorðan, oðþæt hie eft cuice arisað, þonne þes middangeard biðað 7  
 engla beman ufan singað.' 7 he cweð: 'Ic wat cuðlice þæt sio stow ne biþ noht  
 longe æme]tlegu þe [Sce] Cuðbrehtes lichoma in r[esteð, 7 ðæt bið suiðe eadig]  
 [monn þam þe] Dryhten forgiðe on ðære stowe ræste.' Ond þa noht longe æfter  
 þe[os]-
- 5 [sum, þa geun]trumode Godes se leofa Eadbreht biscop, 7 ðæs þa æfter seofon 7  
 [fiowertig] daga he onsende his gast to Gode, 7 his lichoma uuæs geseted in þa il-  
 [can stowe þær]r Sçe Cuðbrehtes lichoma ær on rested.
- [On þone] seofopan dæg þæs monðes bið Sçe Ioha[n]les geleornes, se uuæs  
 [biscop in B]retone on Norþhymbra þeode. Se gedyde dumbum menn spræce,  
 10 [7 his wundor] siendan awriten on 'Istoria Anglorum' on ðære bec, 7 his lichoma  
 [ðær rested i]n ðære stowe ðe is nemned Derewuda.
- [On þone] eahtoðan dæg þæs monðes biþ ðæt Sçe Mic[h]ahæles [cie]rce [ær]est  
 fun-  
 [den uuæs on þam mun]te Gargano, ðær se monn uuæs ofsceoten mid his [ag]lens  
 [stræle, mid þy þe] he walde þone fear sceotan se stod on þæs (s)craefes dura.
- 15 [On þone ilcan dæg] biþ Sçe Uictores þrowung, ðæs martyres, þæs lichom[a]  
 [rested in Mediolane] ðære ceastre. Se Uictores he uuæs Maura cynnes,  
 [7 he uuæs Maximiane]s cempa, þæs hæðnan caseres; ah he uuæs Cristes þegen.  
 [Pa lærde se ca]r[er]e h[ine] ðæt he forlete Cristes geleafan. Pa he þæt ne geðafode,  
 [pa þreade he hine] mid witum. He heht hine begeotan mid wallende lead[e, ah]  
 20 [him þæt noht ne derede] ðe ma ðe cald wæter. Ða heht he his leaseras h[ine]  
 [lædan to þam wuda] æ [is] ge[ceged] Dulmis, 7 hiene ðær beheafðian. Pa cuæþ  
 [he to þam þe hine læddon]: 'Secgað ge Maximiane þæm casere þæt he bið  
 [to gearde dead, 7 h]im beoð ða sconcan forbrocenne ær ðon þe he s[ie] b[e]byr-  
 [ged. 7 þa bebe]ad se casere ðæt nænig monn his lichoman bebyrgde
- 25 [siðþan he uuæs beheafðod, ah ðæt hine] sceolden forsuelgan wildu dior  
 [7 wyrmas. Pa cuomon tu] wildu dior 7 heoldon þone lichoman, oðer æt þa[m]  
 [heafðum, oðer] æt ðam fotum, oððæt ðær to cuom Sēs Maternus se biscop  
 [7 hine þa árweor]ðlice [bebyrgde].
- [On þone niogoða]n dæg þæs m[on]ðes biþ sumeres fruma. Se sumor (hafað hund  
 niogon)-
- 30 [tig daga; ðonne] go[ngað] þa seofon steotran on uhtan upp 7 on [æfe]n on setl.  
 [On þone teogedān dæg þæs] monðes biþ þæs martyres tiid Sēi Gordiani. . .
29. gecweðan B; he om. B. 30f. lufað C; in ecn. 7 om. B.  
 f. 2b. 2. 7 om. B. 3. þe] on ðære B; in om. B. 4. þ on ð. st. restep B; Ond om. B;  
 longe om. C. 5. first þa om. C; gode C; second þa om. B. 6. feowertygū C; to Gode  
 om. B. 7. on om. B; resteð] reste BC, correctly. 8. gewytennys C.  
 9 norðanhymbra B. 10. synd C; awritene BC; on ðære bec] ðæm bocum B. 11. is  
 nemned] mon nemneð B. 12. ðæt] se dæg þe C. 13. ðær] æt over erasure; agenre BC.  
 14. þe om. B; sceotan om. C. 16. uictor BC. 17. maximianes C, -anus B; Cristes  
 þegen] cristen B. 19. he hyne C, hine man B. 20. naht C, no B; first ðe] þon B;  
 leaseras] leogeras [gloss: f cweleras] C. 21. dulnus B. 23. forbrocen B. -ene C; þe om.  
 B; byrged C. 24. 7 om. B; nænig] nan C; his] pone B; bebyrgde] ? ne byrgde E, ne. beb. C.  
 25. ac syððan C; wære C; ah om. C; sceoldon wyldeor 7 w. forsw. C. 26. coman þyder B;  
 þam] MS. ? þā. 27. com to B. 28. þa om. B. 29. hafað hund niogon written in  
 blank space at end of previous line. 30. 7 ðonne C; æfen] undern C; on setl in margin.  
 31. sçe Gordianes B.

## JOHN HALL'S LETTERS TO SAMUEL HARTLIB

By G. H. TURNBULL

AMONG Samuel Hartlib's papers there are twenty-seven letters<sup>1</sup> from John Hall, one to Benjamin Worsley, the rest to Hartlib.<sup>2</sup> Some of the letters are entirely without date, some bear only the day of the week, others only the day and month, on which they were written. All of them are original, except the letter to Worsley.

The first letter to Hartlib is dated 20 November 1646 from St. John's College, Cambridge, where Hall had been studying since February 1646. The letter shows that the two men were already acquainted, Hall having previously met Hartlib, presumably in London. Nothing is known as to when and how Hartlib came to know Hall. Hartlib had himself been at Cambridge University from 1621 to 1627, and still had friends there.<sup>3</sup> But the letters show that he was relying on Hall to get him into touch with members of the University who might serve his purpose of 'gleaning together', as Hall puts it in one letter, 'great and honest spirits' for his various projects.

One of the last letters was written on 8 February from Gray's Inn, where Hall was studying for the Bar, and is therefore to be placed in the year 1648. There had been an interruption of the correspondence for 'many months', as Hall put it—certainly the last dated letter before this is of 27 April 1647, written when Hall was still at Cambridge—and Hall asked Hartlib to make an appointment with him at some convenient place, one of Hall's legs being infirm.<sup>4</sup> There are two other letters, written by Hall in London but undated, which may belong to this period. Both are short; one recommends the bearer to Hartlib's 'advice and assistance', the other asks Hartlib to send him the 'Table of Politicks'<sup>5</sup> so that Hall may fulfil his engagement to Hartlib, presumably in regard to it.

Many of the letters deal with the translation by Hall and the printing of two works written in Latin by Johann Valentin Andreae: *Christianae Societatis Imago* and *Christiani Amoris Dextera Porrecta*.<sup>6</sup> Hall received the

<sup>1</sup> My thanks are due to Lord Delamere, the owner of the papers, for permission to use the letters.

<sup>2</sup> Hall's biographer, John Davies of Kidwelly, says (Preface to Hall's *Hierocles upon the Golden Verses of Pythagoras*, London, 1657) Hall's correspondence at Cambridge was very great for the short time he stayed there, and adds that he need only mention Hartlib and Worsley.

<sup>3</sup> e.g. Thomas Hill, Master of Trinity College and Vice-Chancellor at this time.

<sup>4</sup> Davies says Hall broke a leg in his youth.

<sup>5</sup> A work not yet identified.

<sup>6</sup> Davies wrongly ascribed the authorship of the works to Comenius. They were translated by Hall as 'A Modell of a Christian Society' and 'The Right Hand of Christian Love

Latin documents from Hartlib on 23 November 1646, and wrote back to say that Roger Daniel, printer to the University of Cambridge, wanted permission from Hartlib to print the English translation, which Hall was making for Hartlib and which he was to dedicate to Hartlib in a preface, at the latter's wish. Hartlib must have given the permission. Hall arranged for 100 copies to be printed, and presented a copy of the Latin version to Dr. Hill, the Vice-Chancellor, on Hartlib's behalf, calling it Hartlib's 'little Latin Jewell'. Twice at least Hall had to report that 'we stay for paper' for the printing, and it was not until 26 February that he could send Hartlib ten copies, followed by ninety more<sup>1</sup> on 1 March, accompanied by a request for the 'free censure of his performance' from Hartlib and his friends.

Hartlib sent a copy of the translation to Robert Boyle who, on 8 April 1647,<sup>2</sup> praised Hall's prefatory letter as 'both pithy and to the purpose' and rejoiced that a person of Hall's years should employ his youth in attempts of that kind. An exchange of letters between Hall and Boyle followed, and Boyle thanked Hartlib<sup>3</sup> for procuring him the acquaintance of 'a person that, treading antipodes to the strain of his contemporaries, has September in his judgment, whilst we can scarce find April upon his chin'.

Hartlib seems also to have asked Hall to translate other works, for on 17 December 1646 the latter wrote declining translations, 'not', as he puts it, 'that I any way would draw my neck from the yoke but that I may serve to better advantage'.<sup>4</sup> He adds that he has got a Fellow of St. John's College, named Collier,<sup>5</sup> who is fit for the work of translating, especially from Latin, and willing to be engaged by Hartlib. In February 1647 Collier was engaged by Hartlib through Hall to translate Campanella's *Civitas Solis*,<sup>6</sup> and on 1 March Hall wrote that he hoped the translation would be well forward by the end of the week, adding 'to that end (when I get a little leisure) I put my sholders also to it'. Hall declined to write a offered'. Davies had the translation reprinted in 1657 as an addition to Hall's 'Of the advantageous reading of History', a 'syntagma', as Davies calls it, written by Hall in 1645 at Durham but never printed. Hall also expressed his views on history in his *Humble Motion . . . concerning the Advancement of Learning and Reformation of the Universities*, 1649, pp. 27, 35-36, and 36-37.

<sup>1</sup> These seem to have miscarried, for in April, when Hall bought up from Daniel all the remaining copies of the translation, he sent about a hundred to Hartlib, 'the first Author of it', taking care 'that they be not fruitlessly lost'.

<sup>2</sup> T. Birch, *Works of the Hon. Robert Boyle* (6 vols.: London, 1772), vol. i, p. xxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xl.

<sup>4</sup> In a letter of 11 January 1646/7, Hall told Hartlib he could not help with a translation 'by reason I am not so far Mr. of the French, and I find my genius not altogether so apt for translating'. He also said of himself, in his preface to the reader in his translation of Longinus: 'Though I am of the unfittest making for a Translatour. . . '.

<sup>5</sup> Jeremy Collier; not to be confused with Jeremy Collier, the non-juror (1650-1726).

<sup>6</sup> In his *Horae Vacivae*, 1646, Hall had included Campanella among the moulders of rare commonwealths.



preface for the translation,<sup>1</sup> suggesting it be done by 'some worthy who has better leisure', but asked Hartlib to collect testimonies about Campanella or the *Civitas Solis*, which will 'acquaint men with the use of such kind of writing', and promised to help in the collection himself. Later in March he wrote that the translation was nearly complete, that he would try to get better type for it than had been used for the *Modell of a Christian Society*, but that he feared the preface would not be ready when it was needed. Subsequent letters do not mention the translation,<sup>2</sup> but Boyle, in his letter to Hartlib of 8 April 1647, says that the work deserves 'to be taught in our language'.<sup>3</sup>

In March 1647 Hall wrote to Hartlib that he would also have J. V. Andreae's *Respublica Christianopolitana* translated into English and printed, a design of which Boyle approved in the very words he used about Campanella's work. Again, there is no further mention of this translation in Hall's subsequent letters, and it cannot have been made,<sup>4</sup> for Hartlib notes in his *Ephemerides* for 1653 that Andreae's *Christianopolis*, being a more Christian idea of a new commonwealth than Bacon's, More's, Campanella's, or Burton's,<sup>5</sup> deserves to be translated.

Hall's translation of the epistle *Περὶ ὕψους* by Longinus was published in 1652. Hartlib records this in his *Ephemerides* for that year between 7 October and 30 November, adding 'with a large preface dedic[ated] to Lord Whitlock'.<sup>6</sup> There, too, Hartlib enters Worthington's wish that 'J. Hall or the other Vaughan<sup>7</sup> might translate into better English Plutarch's *Morals* then they are done<sup>8</sup> which was in the auncient days much like the Tronck-bricks which then they wore'. There is no record of Hall embarking on such a translation, and in any case, of course, his letters to Hartlib belong to an earlier period than 1652.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'For, for some reasons, I may not appear in it.'

<sup>2</sup> Nor is there, so far as I know, any record of the publication of this or any other English translation of the *Civitas Solis* during this period.

<sup>3</sup> Birch, vol. i, p. xxxviii.

<sup>4</sup> The first English translation seems to be that by F. E. Held, *Christianopolis* (New York, 1916).

<sup>5</sup> Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, the preface of which ('Democritus Junior to the Reader') Hartlib calls a 'supplemental idea' to the commonwealths of the others. In the latter part of the preface, after showing the extent of melancholy in the world and the need for reform by the removal of its causes in States, with particular reference to England, Burton describes his Utopia.

<sup>6</sup> Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, ed. Bliss, ii. 490, says it was published in October 1652. The 22-page preface of dedication to Bulstrode Whitelocke is undated.

<sup>7</sup> Henry is meant. Hartlib perhaps did not know that Vaughan had already translated and published, in his *Olor Iscanus*, 1651, two essays from Plutarch's *Moralia*, viz. *De capienda ex inimicis utilitate* and *Animine an corporis affectiones sint peiores*.

<sup>8</sup> Philemon Holland translated Plutarch's *Morals* in 1603, and this may be one of the translations referred to as out of date and old fashioned like the trunk-hose worn at that time.

<sup>9</sup> This is the last mention of Hall in Hartlib's *Ephemerides*; but an entry in 1655 about

The letters throw some light on other work which Hall was doing during this period. They show that on 7 December 1646 he was preparing some poems for the press. These were his *Poems*, printed by Roger Daniel at Cambridge, the dedication of which to Thomas Stanley by Hall is dated 6 January 1646 (i.e. 1647). On 31 January 1646/7 Hall told Hartlib that he had instructed Daniel to let Hartlib have twelve copies of the work; there was evidently some question of their safe conveyance, for a fortnight later Hall wrote that Daniel assured him that he had delivered the books to Hartlib's maid.

On 15 February 1646/7 he informed Hartlib that he was working at *Leucenia*, a work of the same kind as Campanella's *Civitas Solis*. Hartlib was unable to read the title in the letter, which Hall therefore repeated on 1 March, adding that it was 'a piece of mine of some 60 or 70 sheets which I think will not be ready as soon as I wisht', but that he would hasten it when his 'businesses' allowed. In a later letter he says: 'My drift is only this to express an Idea of a Commonwealth and Colledge in a Romance.' Hartlib must have mentioned the work to Boyle, who replied<sup>1</sup> that his expectations of this *Utopia* 'will be none of the smallest, if I proportion them to the ingenuity of the author'. The work, however, was never finished. John Davies relates that, after leaving Cambridge for London, but before he began his law studies at Gray's Inn, Hall added something to the unfinished work 'which, had it been finished, might have raised envie in the famous Romancist Monsieur de Scudery'. But, he adds, a friend borrowed it to read in manuscript, and never offered either to return it or to acknowledge it.

In March 1646/7, Hall informed Hartlib that he was putting to press two books of Divine Emblems, the printing of which he hoped would soon be finished, 'for I have seen some of the Cutts'. On 26 April 1647 he told Hartlib in confidence that he wanted to dedicate them to Boyle, if Boyle was willing. The only mention Boyle makes of them is in his letter to Hartlib of 8 April 1647,<sup>2</sup> where he reserves his opinion until he sees them, 'since the opinions I embrace, both about the nature and the teaching of virtue, will doubtless appear as paradoxical to others, as they seem probable to me'. The work appeared in 1648 as 'Emblems with Elegant Figures newly published. By J. H., esquire. 12 mo. 2 parts.'<sup>3</sup> But there is no further reference to it in Hall's or Boyle's letters.

For the purpose, already mentioned, of 'gleaning together great and honest spirits' at Cambridge University for Hartlib's projects, in which Hall was assisting, Hall seems to have acted as go-between for Hartlib and

William Drummond of Hawthornden's *History of Scotland* may refer to Hall's publication of it, with a long preface about monarchy, which appeared first at Edinburgh in 1650.

<sup>1</sup> Birch, vol. i, p. xxxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

<sup>3</sup> D.N.B.

members of the University. Early in December 1646 he tells Hartlib he has 'discharged your engagement' to the Vice-Chancellor.<sup>1</sup> On 25 January 1646/7, with reference to the *Metaphysics*<sup>2</sup> of Comenius, which he was transcribing, Hall tells Hartlib he doubts the Vice-Chancellor's 'affections to this business', having found him 'not very sensible' in a talk, and has therefore not yet delivered 'the enclosed'<sup>3</sup> from Hartlib to the Vice-Chancellor. On 31 January, however, he writes that since his previous letter he has been with the Vice-Chancellor, 'from whom I had better expressions'.

Ralph Cudworth, at the time Master of Clare Hall, Cambridge, was another member of the University whom Hall approached early in December 1646. On 25 January he reported that he had delivered Hartlib's 'enclosed'<sup>4</sup> to Cudworth, but had not yet shown him Comenius's *Metaphysics*, being doubtful of his 'affections to this business, or els mine own person is not powerfull enough for an address', and being the more uncertain because he had never spoken personally to him. On 13 April 1646/7 he says Hartlib would do well to gain Cudworth,<sup>4</sup> for 'in him you gain Emanuel Colledge now the most flourishing (for tongues) in the town'. Contact was certainly established between Cudworth and Hartlib, whether through Hall's efforts or not is not known, for in 1648 Cudworth and Henry More were in correspondence with Hartlib.

Whichcote, probably Benjamin, was, like Hill and Cudworth, approached by Hall for Hartlib early in December 1646. He sent Hartlib money on 9 March 1648 'from your Cambridge friends', and on two subsequent occasions.<sup>5</sup>

Hall's tutor, John Pawson, Fellow of St. John's, who wrote a preface 'To the Reader' for Hall's *Horae Vacivae* in 1646 and a set of verses of praise for Hall's *Poems*, is often referred to in the letters of February and March 1646/7. Hall tried, unsuccessfully apparently, to get from Pawson comments on John Dury's 'peice of logicque'.<sup>6</sup> But Pawson must have written to Hartlib for information on some problem involving mathematics and astronomy—'irrational' demands unlikely to receive quick satisfaction, as

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Hill.

<sup>2</sup> *De rerum humanarum emendatione Consultatio catholica*, written by Comenius in 1645 and published at Amsterdam in 1666; second edition, by J. F. Buddeus, Halle, 1702. Hall called it, in a letter to Hartlib of 17 December 1646, 'as un-enforc'd solid philosophy as I suppose is attainable by man'.

<sup>3</sup> This may have been Gibbon's *Medium*; see *infra*, p. 231.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently for Hartlib's Office of Address.

<sup>5</sup> Turnbull, *Hartlib, Dury and Comenius* (Liverpool, 1947), p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> Called later by Hall 'Mr. Dury's instructions'. Identification of this work among the half-dozen or so on Logic by John Dury is not easy, but the most likely is his 'Of Teaching Logic', published by Hartlib, probably in 1650, as an addendum (pp. 77-89) to *The Reformed School*.

Hall calls them—and been advised to consult three mathematicians, one of them Gassendi; advice of which Boyle approved.<sup>1</sup>

Dr. John Arrowsmith, Master of St. John's, Hall's college, to whom Hall dedicated his *Horae Vacivae*, is mentioned early in December 1646 in a letter to Hartlib as one to whom Hall could not discharge Hartlib's 'engagement', as Arrowsmith was in London at the time, but to whom Hall offered to send there. There is no further mention of Arrowsmith in the letters.

On 17 December 1646 Hall informed Hartlib that he had found a Fellow of St. John's College, Collier by name, who was fit and willing to undertake translations, especially from Latin. Hartlib must have engaged him, for on 15 February 1646/7, Hall reported that he had invited Collier to translate Campanella's *Civitas Solis*. In March the translation was nearing completion, as already mentioned. Collier was then engaged to translate two parts (*Orthographia* and *Ichnographia*) of the *Pansophiae Diatyposis* of Comenius.<sup>2</sup> A few weeks later Hall complained to Hartlib of Collier's slow progress and asked Hartlib to 'spurr' him with a letter. This was Jeremy Collier, and his translation of the *Diatyposis*, dedicated to Hartlib, was published in 1651 as 'A Patterne of Universal knowledge'.

On 21 December 1646 Hall asked Hartlib to write a letter to Mr. Bolton, 'to make way for my address to him' in Hall's attempt to gain as many as he could; 'though', he adds, 'I act upon disadvantage by reason my youth, and men rather expect I shold learn from them then teach them any thing. But this shall (by the grace of God) [not] discourage mee.' This was probably Samuel Bolton, Master of Christ's College, and Hartlib must have got to know him, either through Hall or otherwise, because in October 1647 he wrote to Bolton on behalf of Thomas Smith, a Fellow of the College, at the latter's request, as appears from letters from Smith to Hartlib found among Hartlib's papers.

Finally, Henry More, the Cambridge Platonist, was another important member of the University whom Hall approached on Hartlib's behalf. He had written verses in praise of Hall for the edition of Hall's *Poems*. On 21 December 1646 Hall writes: 'What you have heard of Mr. Moor is below desert. I shall feel his puls.' Later he describes More as 'a great Platonist, an excellent Mathematician, of sound strong parts and religious'. Subsequent letters show that Hall must have approached More, and on 13 April 1647 he writes thus to Hartlib: 'If you gain Mr. Moor to our O.<sup>3</sup> Nae tu magnum facinus feceris, he is a man of rare parts, indefatigable industry, very conscientious (and that with discretion) zealous (and that secundum scientiam).' More certainly entered into correspondence with

<sup>1</sup> Birch, vol. i, pp. xxxix and xli.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Hartlib's Office of Address.

<sup>3</sup> Published at Danzig in 1643.

Hartlib. His first letter to Hartlib is dated 27 November 1648; but they were in touch by October 1647, as appears from letters of Thomas Smith of Christ's, More's own college, to Hartlib, found among the latter's papers, and it may well be that Hall brought the two men into communication with one another. John Davies says that Hall was 'intimately acquainted with' More at Cambridge.

Much of the correspondence is taken up with references to books and manuscripts sent by Hartlib to Hall, some on request or as presents or for his opinion or for translation or copying, others for transmission to other people as gifts or for their opinion. Some of these books and manuscripts have already been described. Another book, of which it seems Hartlib wished a transcription to be made, is referred to in the letters of March and April 1647 as 'Philander Philanax'.<sup>1</sup> Hall found the book, and he and Collier transcribed it. Hall told Hartlib he would have added his opinion of the work if he had had time. There is nothing in the letters to suggest what work Hall meant when he wrote to Hartlib that he had one of like nature in his hands.

Besides those at Cambridge with whom, as we have already seen, Hartlib was making contact through Hall, a number of other people, some of them quite well known, are mentioned in the letters.

John Milton is one, and he is named in six of the letters. On 17 December 1646 Hall wrote to Hartlib: 'I had a loving and modest express from worthy Mr. Milton. I desire to be enformed from you whether you suppose him willing to entertain a constant correspondence or noe.' On 21 December he said: 'I am much ambitious of the acquaintance of Mr. Milton (who is here said to be the Author of that excellent discourse of Education you were pleased to impart). I beseech you be a means to bring us to a correspondence, if you can'; and on 8 January he repeated the request for Milton's acquaintance.<sup>2</sup> On 4 January 1646/7 he wrote: 'I gave you an account of Mr. Milton and Mr. Worsley by Mr. Blunden. I shall presume to address my self to both next week.' On 7 February he conjectured that the 'tract of Intelligence' had come from Milton,<sup>3</sup> and in March he made

<sup>1</sup> According to the British Museum Catalogue Philander Philanax is a pseudonym for Joannes Seyffert, who wrote *De natura, fine, mediis Jesuitarum, in gratiam simpliciorum mortalium quotquot hucusque politicos istos callidissimos, atheos, magos . . . regicidas monarchiam universalem . . . affectantes, . . . pro simplicibus religiosis ac bonis viris habuere.* [Bremen?] 1619. 8°.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. what John Davies wrote of Hall: 'In London his acquaintance was universall, insomuch that whenever he heard of any man celebrated for some excellent endowment, he could not rest till he had the knowledge of him.'

<sup>3</sup> Sent by Hartlib. Hall copied it, apparently to make a translation, which was not, however, done by March. In April he asked Hartlib for 'the second part' of it and said he could tell Hartlib how to get it published, if publication had not already been arranged. The 'tract' has not been identified; no work of Milton's answers to Hall's description of it.

the following statement: 'I am sorry Mr. Milto[n] dos abundare suo sensu.'<sup>1</sup>

Robert Boyle has already been mentioned in connexion with Hall's translation of two of Andreae's works. In his letter to Hartlib of 26 April 1647, Hall, in acknowledging Boyle's approbation of his preface to the two works, says that Boyle 'breaths an high and Ethereall Genious, and carrys such a spirit as both Nobility and Vertue may be proud to own, yet both these tempered with a stayd and stedly judgment'.

Later in the same letter Hall asks Hartlib to persuade Boyle 'to finish that little dialogue he mentions'. The reference is to be found in Boyle's letter to Hartlib of 8 April,<sup>2</sup> in which he says: 'concerning which [the public good] I have lately traced a little dialogue in my thoughts, which my unceasing domestic distractions will by no means as yet permit me to blot paper with.' The dialogue has not yet been identified.

In the letter of 26 April Hall also asks Hartlib to get from Boyle, without disclosing that the request comes from Hall, a draft, however short, of Boyle's opinions about virtue and the ways of teaching it. Hall's three particular reasons for wanting to see it were first, that he knows nothing that is not excellent can come from Boyle; secondly, as has already been mentioned, that Hall wishes to dedicate his *Emblems* to Boyle, and thirdly, that since part of Hall's study is 'to convey vertue to men', Boyle's opinions would probably confirm or rectify mightily some of Hall's views.<sup>3</sup> Reference has already been made, in connexion with Hall's *Emblems*, to Boyle's statement in his letter to Hartlib of 8 April 1647, about his opinions on the nature and teaching of virtue. These were his *Essays on Ethics*, in three books, begun in 1645<sup>4</sup> and mentioned in two other letters of his in 1646.<sup>5</sup>

Benjamin Worsley's name appears in quite a number of the letters. On 17 December 1646 Hall asked Hartlib whether Worsley would agree to enter into constant correspondence with Hall, and on 8 January he asked Hartlib to bring him acquainted with Worsley. A letter from Worsley to Hall must have been the result of this request, and in his letter of 7 February to Hartlib,<sup>6</sup> Hall enclosed a letter for Worsley, dated 5 February, of which Hartlib took a copy. It asked for Worsley's judgement on a doubt, Whether the Scripture be an adequate judge of physical controversies or no? Hall

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rom. xiv. 5 (Vulgate). In the Authorized Version the phrase is translated as to be 'fully persuaded in his own mind'. Why, and in what connexion, Hall (and Hartlib) applied the expression to Milton at this time is not known.

<sup>2</sup> Birch, vol. i, p. xxxviii.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hall's *Humble Motion*, pp. 25-26, where, after mention of the students' study of Logic and Metaphysics at the Universities, he adds: 'And then . . . to be turned to graze in poor Ethicks, which perhaps tell them as much in harder words, as they had heard their mothers talke by the fireside at home.'

<sup>4</sup> Birch, vol. i, p. ccxxxvii.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxx and xxxiv.

<sup>6</sup> Addressed to Worsley, by mistake, for it is obviously intended for Hartlib.



set out his own arguments for and against. The two against are, first that the Scriptures state some things that are contrary to the received tenets of nature, e.g. in regard to the greatness of the moon,<sup>1</sup> and second, that men of great authority 'usually resolve such passages with a *κατὰ δόξαν* as humiliating itself to vulgar concept'. Two of the three arguments in favour are drawn from the opinions of Comenius; one, from the preface to his *Physics*, about the fullness of the world and that man can teach but one thing at one time, God who is infinite all things at once;<sup>2</sup> the other from his inclusion<sup>3</sup> of the Scriptures as one of the three foundations of knowledge. The third argument, which Hall confesses has more weight with him, is that the description by Moses of the creations<sup>4</sup> must have had a purpose intended by the Holy Spirit. In conclusion Hall said he rather inclined to the affirmative but had some scruples about the negative, about which he would be glad of Worsley's opinion.

Worsley replied on 16 February,<sup>5</sup> declining the responsibility of determining the question but sending his thoughts on it. He divided the question into two parts: (1) whether the Scriptures contain definitively all manner of physical truths? (2) whether they clearly show the truths they contain? On the first part, he says that the Scriptures, having for their author an infinite wisdom, cannot but have more fullness in them than all other writings that we find to be true by induction and from experience; therefore it is presumptuous and unsafe to say what material truths they do not contain. His opinion on the second part is that the Scriptures are a rich and complete storehouse of truths, but that man is given latitude to seek to determine physical controversies by the free use of his senses and reason, and that it is safer to bend the words of Scripture to truth than to force truth to conform to a particular meaning of Scripture; for truth will always clarify and illustrate the Scriptures admirably, whereas they often conceal their truths.

When Hall received this reply from Worsley through Hartlib early in March he said it had given him a great deal of satisfaction, and he asked Hartlib to overcome Worsley's modesty so that it might be published,<sup>6</sup> 'for

<sup>1</sup> Comenius stated the problem posed by Genesis i. 16, and offered his solution, in these words in his *Praecognita*, p. 57: 'Solem et Lunam Scriptura duo magna luminaria vocat: Astronomi tamen Lunam stellam quavis fixa minorem esse deprehendunt. Ergo Scriptura intelligenda est, non de magnitudine corporis, sed lucis, quam ista duo corpora prae aliis spargunt: ita veritas rei illustrabit veritatem dicti.'

<sup>2</sup> The *Praefatio* to the *Physicae Synopsis*, 1633, of Comenius, *Velkeré Spisy Jana Amosa Komenského*, i. 160: 'Homo tempore, loco, obiectis circumsessus uno tempore et loco non nisi unum agere potest; Deus vero aeternus, omnipraesens et omniscius existens semper et ubique omnia simul intuetur, regit et gubernat.'

<sup>3</sup> Cf. his *Praecognita*, and also his *Physicae Synopsis*, *Velkeré Spisy*, i, e.g. pp. 155-7.

<sup>4</sup> Presumably in Genesis i.

<sup>5</sup> Hartlib kept a copy of the reply.

<sup>6</sup> Apparently this was never done.

I doubt but it wold both resolve and satisfy a great deal of doubting about that question'. The request was repeated by Hall at the end of March, and again on 5 April, when he told Hartlib of John Pawson his tutor's great liking for Worsley's letter.

Hall wrote a great deal to Hartlib about a plan for an Academy of not more than sixty elected gentlemen of blood and coat-armour, called Essentials,<sup>1</sup> with a President, elected for one year, next to him an Orator, and under them a secretary, a library-keeper and a master of ceremonies. On admission an Essential would pay 20s. and give a book to the library; and he would subscribe towards the maintenance of the Academy an annual sum of not less than £4. Vacancies among the Essentials were to be filled from the ranks of supernumeraries called Probationers or Expectants according to seniority. A third group would consist of such as could only bring gold into the Academy; they would be named Fautores and be excused the exercises, which were to consist of a weekly discourse by two members in public before the President, the discourses to be registered and preserved for the sole use of the Essentials, and of a paper of verses and a discourse brought in by each member at the year's end. The poetically inclined might submit verses on any occasion. The choicest verses were to be selected and printed under the name of the Academy. It was hoped to extend the activities of the Academy later to horsemanship and fencing. Hall's own opinion of the proposed Academy<sup>2</sup> was that it was far too slight to advance the public good in any way, being a private coming together of a few private people, and that it would never materialize; but he had not openly objected to it because he thought it might lead the way to something better.

John Pell is also mentioned in some of the letters. On 17 December 1646 Hall asked Hartlib to get from Pell 'a direceon for the study of the Mathematicks',<sup>3</sup> and wrote himself to Pell in the following January for it, so that he might spend, as he says, the remainder of his very short time in the University in improving his slight knowledge of the subject.

A Mr. Stanley, who may well be Thomas Stanley the classical scholar, is frequently mentioned. On 11 January 1646/7 Hall wrote to Hartlib: 'I pray make use of the enclosed to Mr. Stanley. I doubt not but it will pro-

<sup>1</sup> This name had been used for the main class of eighty-four members by Edmund Bolton in his scheme for an Academy Royal; cf. E. M. Portal, 'The Academ Roial of King James I', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1915-16, pp. 189-208. There is otherwise no resemblance between these two academies.

<sup>2</sup> Boyle may have been referring to this academy when he wrote to Hartlib on 8 May 1647 about Hall's 'propositions concerning the college'; Birch, vol. i, pp. xl-xli.

<sup>3</sup> Hartlib sent Dury in 1630 a 'rude draft' of Pell's method, which may have been his *Idea of Mathematics*. This *Idea*, probably revised, was written to Hartlib in 1634 and published in 1650 as an addition to Dury's *The Reformed School and the Reformed Library-keeper*.

cure you that respect which is due to you.' On 1 March 1646/7 he wondered that Hartlib never mentioned Mr. Stanley; but in the next letter, written soon afterwards, he says Hartlib may expect the following week a letter to Stanley, as desired by Hartlib; adding 'I am sorry Mr. Milt[on] dos abundare suo sensu. I wish I could not complain the like of my dear Stanley. But I hope I shall win on him when I come to remain at London as I shall shortly.' On 29 March he wrote to Hartlib: 'The sudden sickness of a Gent. (under whose shade I enioy my studious leisure) called me abruptly out of the University, and disturbed our negotiations a few weeks.' This reference may very well be to Stanley, for he helped people financially and relieved Hall in his necessity.<sup>1</sup> On 20 April Hall wrote thus to Hartlib, in regard to the scheme for an Academy, which has already been mentioned: 'Mr. Stanley (who has been all this while in the country) though he was profered the second place (I mean Orator) will not accept it by reason himself hath a design *Armillæ nigra*<sup>2</sup> and forsooth he will not be a *philoposus*.' On 26 April he wrote, after referring to Robert Boyle: 'If my dear fr[ie]nd T. Stanley (who has a long time been in the Country) had to his stupendous parts the forsaid Gentlemans Inclinations I durst be bold to challeng our domestick or the forreign world for such a Gemini of Nobility.' It was to Thomas Stanley that Hall dedicated his *Poems*, the dedication beginning thus: 'Sir, What I was first indebted to you at Durham I endeavour to acquit in part here at Cambridge.' Stanley was one of those who paid tribute to Hall in the latter's *Horæ Vacivæ*.

On 25 January 1646/7 Hall wrote thus to Hartlib: 'I have not yet obeyed you in delivering the enclosed to the Vicech[ancellor], though I have to Mr. Cudworth. It is a masculin heroic attempt, and that which (I protest) I had wished and put into a draught (sometime since) as you will see when it shall please God I may publish that work. Next week I shall presume to deliver you some short aviso's, if my businesses which ar extream permit. Meanwhile I shall acquaint such with it, as I shall conceive it is convenient. I wish I knew more of the Authors name than the initiall letters, for I profess a great deal of honour to him for this attempt.'

The 'enclosed' may very well have been *Medium ad componendas controversias ecclesiae Christianae oblatum a Doctore Gibbono*. The author was Nicholas Gibbon the younger, and the work<sup>3</sup> refers to his idea of a system of 'real divinity', on which he published a book in 1653. Gibbon is men-

<sup>1</sup> See notice of Stanley in *D.N.B.*

<sup>2</sup> This reference is obscure.

<sup>3</sup> A copy was found among Hartlib's papers (Turnbull, p. 258). In the *Medium* Gibbon offered to edit from Scripture a system of theology of sure foundations on which to rest the text and current doctrine, with a view to settling differences in religion. In his biography of Hall Davies tells of 'the intimacie and esteem he had with diverse reverend men of the long robe, and among others, Dr. Gibbon and his Scheme'.

tioned by name in Hall's next letter to Hartlib, of 31 January, in which he says: 'I bless Gods providence in Dr. Gibbons, you were the first man I heard it of.' On 15 February he says: 'I have shown Dr. Gibbons to some already, and shall return the votes next week'; and he follows that up on 23 February with: 'For that Idea of Dr. Gibbons I have communicated it to some men of judgement, who look upon the thing as an attempt deserving all honour, and they onely doubt of the performance.'

A Mr. Howell is twice mentioned in the letters. On 20 April 1646/7, giving his opinion that the Academy will never be *in actu*, Hall adds: 'My reasons (sed hoc tecum sit) ar these. 1. Mr. Howell shold have been first President and I know so far into Howells genious that I make doubt of his acceptance.' On 26 April he wrote to Hartlib, after referring to Boyle: 'Although comparatively Mr. Howells acquaintance is not so valewable yet believe me Sir excellent use may be made of him, as a man though of deprav'd opinions yet of a generous and high soul.' This was probably James Howell, to whom Hall sent his essays (*Horae Vacivae*) and who made the work the subject of one of his *Letters*.<sup>1</sup> Howell himself, or rather his political allegory, *Δενδρολογία* (*Dodona's Grove*, 1640), is mentioned in *Horae Vacivae*<sup>2</sup> thus: "'Tis a delicate invention, that of Master Howell, wherein he turnes Europe into a Grove, and among the Thickets satyrizes an exact History.'

Hartlib himself is the subject of part of the letter of 13 April 1646/7. Hall writes: 'I bless God that he hath lent our state eyes to see your merits, the Taking Notice of great men is the best basis of a solid peace, money is the Nerve of a Commonwealth, learning and Religion the blood and spirits without which it is an useless trunk and soon putrifys. I were iniurious to that alacrity I have ever found in you to the Publiq[ue] shold I tell you you ar more than ever engaged to a prosecution of our good designs, by reason I know you so well-fraught with such apprehensions.' The reference is undoubtedly to the fact<sup>3</sup> that on 31 March 1647, £300 was voted Hartlib by Parliament and the care of settling him in a way of future subsistence was recommended to the Committee for the University of Oxford. Boyle also rejoiced<sup>4</sup> at 'the glad parliamentary news' from Hartlib, calling 'the taking notice of . . . men of rare industry and publick spirit' a piece of policy 'as vastly advantageous to all states as it is ruinously neglected by the most', and saying that the phrases used about Hartlib in the parliamentary ordinances were 'but barely just' to him.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae*, ed. J. Jacobs, vol. i (1890), Book ii, pp. 432-3; letter dated 3 Dec. [1646].

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Fables* XIII, pp. 196-7.

<sup>3</sup> Turnbull, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Letter of 8 May 1647; Birch, vol. i, p. xl.

<sup>5</sup> 'his good deserts, and great services to the Parliament . . . the deserts of Mr. Hartlib, both from the Parliament, and from all that are well-wishers to the Advancement of Learning.' Turnbull, *Samuel Hartlib* (Oxford, 1920), p. 49.

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As already mentioned Hall went to Cambridge University in February 1646. In a letter to Hartlib of 25 January 1646/7, he writes of 'the short time I shall spend in the University (and it will be very short)'. Some of the letters written in March and April refer to his approaching departure from Cambridge to stay in London, and the last letter to Hartlib from Cambridge is dated 27 April 1647. Davies says that Hall left Cambridge in May 1647 for Gray's Inn, where he had been entered a year before, and that when he came back to England from abroad in September 1651 he found Hall in a Bar-gown, 'having been called thereto a year before'. Hall followed a usual custom of the day by staying only a year or so at a university before proceeding to the study of the law at one of the Inns of Court in London. He may never have intended to stay long at Cambridge; or he may have determined not to stay when he became dissatisfied, as Davies says, 'with the Governours there for denying those honorary advancements, which are as it were the indulgences of the University, where there is an excess of merit'.

# JOHNSON'S ADDITIONS TO HIS SHAKESPEARE FOR THE EDITION OF 1773

By T. J. MONAGHAN

JOHNSON'S revision of his edition of Shakespeare had already begun when the work was going through the press. The Appendix, printed in the eighth volume,<sup>1</sup> contains a number of unsigned textual and explanatory notes by Johnson, contributions by English scholars like Warton and Percy, and observations by members of the Club who made no special claims to scholarship. Many of Johnson's notes are afterthoughts on explanations or conjectures printed in the earlier volumes. A few come from his reflections on Heath's *Revisal of Shakespeare's Text*.<sup>2</sup> His explanation of a reading in the first folio is added because he 'did not know till of late that this passage had been thought difficult'.<sup>3</sup> His estimate of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*

Of this play, wild and fantastical as it is, all the parts in their various modes are well written, and give the kind of pleasure which the authour designed. Fairies in his time were much in fashion; common tradition had made them familiar, and *Spenser's* poem had made them great.<sup>4</sup>

takes its place among his 'judicial observations' on Shakespeare.

All our evidence suggests that once Johnson could say 'my Shakespeare is now out of my hands',<sup>5</sup> he rested from Shakespearian studies for some time. In 1768 he acquiesced in the republication of his edition without adding anything new.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, his writings have given the impression that he took little part in the actual revision. His letters inviting help are reserved about his own efforts, and the sentence added to the preface in 1773<sup>7</sup> has no mention of them. The belief has thus arisen that Johnson wrote nothing for his 1773 *Shakespeare* except that sentence, and the introduction to the first appendix in the tenth volume.<sup>8</sup> In fact he con-

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1765, viii, sigs. Hh 6-Ll 6.

<sup>2</sup> e.g. *ibid.*, sig. Hh 6<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. Kk 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, sig. Hh 7<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Letter to Dr. Taylor, 2 Oct. 1765; cf. *Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. G. Birkbeck Hill (Oxford, 1892), i. 122.

<sup>6</sup> The 1768 edition is a page-for-page reprint with the type reset throughout. It was probably set up from the second issue of 1765. Professor Nichol Smith points out that it reproduces an error ('dullest' for 'dunnest', *Macbeth*, 1. v. 52) in vol. vi, p. 395 of that issue.

<sup>7</sup> 'Of what has been performed in this revisal, an account has been given in the following pages by Mr. Steevens, who might have spoken both of his own diligence and sagacity, in terms of greater self-approbation, without detracting from modesty or truth.'

<sup>8</sup> Cf. W. P. Courtney and D. Nichol Smith, *A Bibliography of Samuel Johnson* (Oxford, 1925), p. 108.



tributed a large number of new notes, most of them textual and explanatory, and some passages of criticism which are among his most characteristic observations on Shakespeare. These have not been included in the Johnson canon because of Johnson's reticence and Boswell's silence.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this article is to record the new notes, indicate their nature, and comment on their importance.

A necessary preliminary is to examine the reception of the 1765 *Shakespeare*. Within a month of publication a second issue was required, but before it appeared reviewers had been busy examining Johnson's findings. The first to get into print was the writer in the *St. James's Chronicle* who began a long series of extracts from the Preface with occasional remarks the day the edition appeared, 10 October, and continued them on the 12 and 15 October.<sup>2</sup> He calls attention to slips in detail, like Johnson's misquotation of 'small Latin and less Greek', but concentrates on the criticism in the Preface, agreeing substantially with Johnson, though he wished that 'Mr. Johnson had rather maintained the character of a reasoner than assumed that of a pleader'.<sup>3</sup> His friendly attitude is clear from remarks on Johnson's writings between 1750 and 1765: 'and all these the work of a mere Idler! We could wish that there were a few more such indolent men in these kingdoms',<sup>4</sup> and his final observation that the Preface 'speaks, perhaps, of Shakespeare's beauties too sparingly, and of his faults too hardly; but it contains, nevertheless, much truth, good sense and just criticism'.<sup>5</sup>

The *Gentleman's Magazine* was even more favourable, declaring that 'all commendation is excluded by the just celebrity of the author'.<sup>6</sup> But encomiastic criticism was by no means general. The *Monthly Review* dissented for the good reason that its articles, which appeared in the October and November issues, were written by the hostile William Kenrick, though his criticisms are much more moderate than those he was to write later in his *Review of Dr. Johnson's New Edition of Shakespeare*. Like the writer in the *St. James's Chronicle* he pays most attention to the Preface, but, unlike him, he says a great deal about the defects of the edition and the negligence of the editor. The writer in the *St. James's Chronicle*, whom Kenrick calls as a witness against Johnson, could recall with affection the achievements of the Idler; Kenrick has the sour complaint that 'our Editor's notes, few and exceptionable as they are, lay claim to our admiration if we reflect on the extreme indolence of the writer who is naturally an idler'.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Boswell, *Life*, ed. Hill-Powell (Oxford, 1934), ii. 204.

<sup>2</sup> Reprinted in the *London Magazine*, xxxiv (1765), 529-38.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted for convenience from *ibid.*, p. 536 n.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 530.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 538.

<sup>6</sup> *Gentleman's Magazine*, xxxv (1765), 479.

<sup>7</sup> *Monthly Review*, xxxiii (1765), 287.

By the beginning of November the edition was a common subject of discussion and the *Monthly Review* could advertise<sup>1</sup> its November number with the promise of 'an ample and critical account of Johnson's Edition of Shakespeare'. In spite of this claim Kenrick's examination does not go beyond the Preface and the round declaration that Johnson 'hath in more places than one, betrayed a consciousness of want of application in his pretended endeavours, as well as of the ill-success attending them'.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile a new venture in criticism had begun in the *St. James's Chronicle* for Wednesday, 6 November, when a correspondent, signing himself 'Crito', called attention to a discrepancy in statements about the handkerchief in *Othello*. This is the first of a series of letters, published between 6 November 1765 and 18 February 1766, which discuss problems in Shakespeare's text, find fault with Johnson's emendations, and propose alternative solutions. Clearly the 1765 *Shakespeare* was not able to answer all the questions readers wanted to ask and, as 'Philo-Shakespeare' stated plainly, they were dissatisfied with the paucity of Johnson's annotations.<sup>3</sup> The habit of writing detailed criticisms spread to other publications. Having devoted an article to the Preface in November, the *Critical Review* began the next month its lengthy examination of particular passages in Johnson's text and notes.<sup>4</sup> December also saw the publication of Kenrick's *Review* and, the best pamphlet occasioned by Johnson's edition, Thomas Tyrwhitt's *Observations and Conjectures upon some passages of Shakespeare*.<sup>5</sup>

The writer in the *Critical Review* continued his labours in January and February.<sup>6</sup> His special theory of Shakespeare's language and the method of interpreting it helped to give his writing a polemical and satirical bias. Bennet Langton who contributed to the Appendix is described as 'a gentleman whom our Sultan of criticism has admitted to be one of the dwarfs who hold up his train'.<sup>7</sup> Even well-established commentators come in for their share of attention especially when they contradict his favourite theories, for he says in one place of Warburton, whose work on the whole he admired, that he 'deviates into right'.<sup>8</sup> Though this reviewer has no dislike of plain language, he objects to the abusive remarks and ill-mannered controversies which disgraced much contemporary criticism, and apologizes for his own freedom of speech with the acknowledgement that he was 'almost guilty of a Theobaldism; that is an unmannerly, illiberal, insult upon former critics'.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In *St. James's Chronicle*, 5 Nov. 1765.

<sup>2</sup> *Monthly Review*, xxxiii (1765), 387.

<sup>3</sup> *St. James's Chronicle*, 9 Jan. 1766.

<sup>4</sup> *Critical Review*, xx (1765), 401-10.

<sup>5</sup> The pamphlet is dated 1766, but as the *Gentleman's Magazine* shows, it was in the hands of readers in Dec. 1765. Cf. vol. xxxv (1765), 528-33, 616-17.

<sup>6</sup> *Critical Review*, xxi (1766), 13-26, 81-88.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

His contention was that 'The English language since the days of Shakespeare (if Mr. Steevens will pardon the expression) has septentrionalised; and it is vain for an inhabitant of the more southern parts of Great Britain to attempt to recover the meaning of many of Shakespeare's words without going northwards.'<sup>1</sup> In his criticism of Johnson he examines 'passages only of the utmost consequence to Shakespeare's sense and language',<sup>2</sup> following his principles that 'Terms that in Shakespeare's time were familiar to a peer, are now common with a cobbler',<sup>3</sup> and that the meanings will often be found in 'the shrubberies of the language'.<sup>4</sup> If we make due allowance for a theory carried to the point of eccentricity, this reviewer is a fair, though not an enlightened, critic. He holds that Johnson relied too much on emendation and too little on his own discernment, but his final verdict has some appreciation of Johnson's contribution: 'He may, perhaps, upon a review of his own notes be of our opinion; but as his edition now stands, with the help of Dr. Warburton's notes, Shakespeare appears in it more himself than in any other which has appeared since that of Mr. Rowe.'<sup>5</sup>

If these criticisms did not call for a revised edition,<sup>6</sup> the Appendix to Johnson's eighth volume could have been taken as an acknowledgement that it would soon be required. There is evidence to suggest that Johnson may have begun to make arrangements for it by the beginning of 1766. One of the ablest of the contributors to the Appendix was George Steevens, a young friend still in his twenties who was then engaged on his reprint of *Twenty of the Plays of Shakespeare, being the whole Number printed in Quarto*. It appeared early in January 1766. On 1 February Steevens published his *Proposals* for the new edition, observing that they had been communicated to Garrick and Tonson before any criticism of Johnson was printed.

During the seven years before the edition appeared the habit of writing to the newspapers about difficult passages continued, and letters became more frequent after the publication of Capell's edition in May 1768. At least a dozen were printed in the *St. James's Chronicle* for that year and others were to follow. Of greater significance was the series of letters and brief articles on the 'origin of Shakespeare's Fables' which began in that newspaper in July and continued till January 1769. The series added nothing to what was already known, but it gave proof of the growing interest in the study of Shakespeare for which Johnson was largely responsible.

In the revision of the 1765 *Shakespeare* account had to be taken of criti-

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

<sup>6</sup> A later writer, *Etonensis*, in his obituary notice of Steevens, claimed that Johnson's *Shakespeare* 'brought disappointment along with it'. *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxx (1800), i. 179; Nichols, *Anecdotes*, ii (1812), 650 n.

cisms and observations in the periodicals and newspapers, and in the pamphlets of Kenrick and Tyrwhitt. The greater share of this work fell to Steevens. Tyrwhitt's work was deservedly treated with respect. Much of the *Observations and Conjectures*, together with some new material, was incorporated in appropriate places or in the first Appendix, and a number of notes 'omitted in their proper places' were printed in the third Appendix. The comments in the *Critical Review* were less rewarding, but as his notes show, Steevens worked faithfully over them. He prints its note on *quintain* in *As You Like It*, I. ii. 268,<sup>1</sup> and includes its interpretation of *warp* in the same play, II. vii. 187, because he has nothing better to offer.<sup>2</sup> But his gains were slight compensation for the labour he devoted to its long pages of fanciful explanation and impossible etymology, most of which fell before his exact methods and patient study of sources. The real value of the *Critical Review* was in the stimulus it gave him to reconsider Johnson's observations. After he had examined all its notes he tired of its methods and wrote this comment: 'I have been a careful reader of many of the plays, and other books of the age of Shakespeare, but such a word as *blache* has never occurred; and I know not by what rule of criticism a commentator is obliged to adopt difficulties, which (on the authority of the Copies) he may fairly avoid.'<sup>3</sup>

The material in Kenrick's *Review* was no more profitable in spite of the arrogance of its author's claims and the elaboration of his notes. Steevens's reply was to write notes which ignored Kenrick while quoting authorities which showed the wildness of his conjectures. The *Review* did supply one note, on *warp*,<sup>4</sup> which immediately precedes the note from the *Critical Review*. Another which Steevens seems to have had in mind, and of which he might have made fuller use, is the explanation of *envoy* in *Love's Labour's Lost*, III. i. 77.<sup>5</sup> But the remainder of Kenrick's notes, like those in the *Critical Review*, were important only because they drew attention to gaps in the annotation of Shakespeare.

The most striking evidence of Steevens's thoroughness is his scrutiny of the letters in the *St. James's Chronicle*. He saw all of them, from the letter about discrepancies in *Othello* to the conjectures published in 1769 and, as his notes show, he considered all genuine difficulties which they had raised, especially problems about Shakespeare's sources. A great part of the success of the 1773 edition must be attributed to Steevens's careful estimate of

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1773, iii. 246. References throughout are to *Shakespeare's Complete Works*, ed. W. J. Craig (London, 1943).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 275. He might have included with advantage its note on *The Taming of the Shrew*, Ind. i. 1, and its discussion of Ben Jonson's criticism of *Julius Caesar*, III. i. 47-48; cf. *Critical Review*, xxi. 14.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* x. 482-3; cf. *Critical Review*, xxi. 88.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 275.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 376; cf. *Review*, pp. 79-80.

readers' interests in Shakespeare and his knowledge of the questions they would ask. He had the satisfaction of the immediate approval of scholar and reading public alike. Farmer's praise was unqualified: 'The edition you now offer to the publick, approaches much nearer to perfection, than any that has yet appeared; and I doubt not, will be the standard of every future one.'<sup>1</sup> The *Monthly Review* called it 'the best edition of Shakespeare's dramatic works which hath yet been offered to the Public',<sup>2</sup> and the *Critical Review*, after giving many examples of Steevens's ability to illustrate the text, declared that his observations 'being generally founded upon the finest basis of criticism, are almost always decisive'.<sup>3</sup> The 1773 edition was to receive high praise from a more distinguished authority. In October 1773 Steevens published in the *London Magazine* some verses entitled *The Dramatic Quacks; or Shakespeare's Bedside, a new ballad*,<sup>4</sup> containing a satirical account of the editors of Shakespeare. Malone, who preserved the lines because 'the elder commentators on S are happily characterised', added a note (undated) which gives his estimate of the 1765 and 1773 editions. 'Dr. J. by his clear and acute understanding refuted the fallacious reasoning of all his predecessors; and Mr. S. by his perfect knowledge of his author, and a very comprehensive examination of contemporary writers, has thrown more light on his plays than all the former commentators.'<sup>5</sup>

Johnson cannot be shown to have paid any attention to the periodicals. Some notes suggest at first that he may have looked at the articles in the *Critical Review*, but he never replies to any of its remarks and in one place ignores its comments while dealing with an observation by Thomas Tyrwhitt.<sup>6</sup> An extra sentence in his note on the line 'To find his title with some shows of truth' in *Henry V*, I. ii. 72,<sup>7</sup> may have been added because of a letter in the *St. James's Chronicle*, but there is nothing to show that it was not, like the remainder of the textual notes, an independent addition. Articles which discussed his general criticism he ignored altogether.

The only criticisms which Johnson examined are incorporated in the edition of 1773. These are the notes by Kenrick on *war*,<sup>8</sup> eleven passages by Tyrwhitt, ten from the *Observations and Conjectures*<sup>9</sup> and one printed

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Steevens printed in the 1773 *Shakespeare*, x, sig. Oo 2<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Monthly Review*, xlix (1773), 422.

<sup>3</sup> *Critical Review*, xxxvi (1773), 416. The writer noticed that Johnson contributed new notes: 'Dr. Johnson has displayed in his revision such ingenuity, and accuracy of just conception, as to render the present annotations a valuable addition to his former remarks on the subject.'

<sup>4</sup> *London Magazine*, xlii (1773), 512.

<sup>5</sup> The page of the *London Magazine* with Malone's MS. comments is bound with a number of pamphlets on Shakespeare in the Malone Collection in the Bodleian Library. The pressmark is Malone 142 G. Pamphl.

<sup>6</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1773, viii. 193.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 16.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 275-6.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* i. 257; ii. 103; iii. 62-63; iv. 23-24, 116-17, 386; v. 465; viii. 193; ix. 181-2, 383.

for the first time in 1773,<sup>1</sup> and remarks by Steevens on Johnson's notes of 1765.<sup>2</sup> His treatment of Kenrick's note has some bearing on the suggestion, first made by Farmer and accepted ever afterwards, that Johnson was above replying for himself.<sup>3</sup> Kenrick attempted to explain the line in Amiens's song in *As You Like It*, II. vii. 187; 'Though thou the waters warp,' by proposing a technical meaning for *warp*: 'The surface of *waters*, so long as they remain unfrozen, is apparently a perfect plain, whereas, when they are, this surface deviates from its exact flatness or *warps*. This is remarkable in small ponds, the surface of which, when frozen, forms a regular concave; the ice on the sides rising higher than that on the middle.'<sup>4</sup> Like many of Kenrick's remarks this was a plain challenge to the lexicographer. 'What a pity it is', Kenrick wrote in his *Review*, 'that there should be so little connection between Samuel Johnson M.A. the lexicographer and Dr. Johnson the commentator.'<sup>5</sup> Johnson's explanation, which is much closer to the text of Shakespeare, reveals the lexicographer's sensitive discrimination of the meanings of words: 'To *warp*, was probably in Shakespeare's time, a colloquial word, which conveyed no distant allusion to anything else, physical or medicinal. To *warp* is to *turn*, and to *turn* is to *change*: when milk is *changed* by curdling, we now say, it is *turned*: when water is *changed* or *turned* by frost, Shakespeare says it is *curdled*. To be *warp'd*, is only to be changed from its natural state.'<sup>6</sup> Kenrick's provocative and abusive manner had not tempted Johnson to write for victory. His note is a patient explanation of Shakespeare's meaning, not a reply to a challenge.

There is the same patient unravelling of difficulties in his rejoinders to Thomas Tyrwhitt. Two examples will illustrate his method when answering the ablest of his critics. In the passage in *Cymbeline*, I. vi. 44-46,

Sluttery to such neat excellence opposed  
Should make desire vomit emptiness  
Not so allur'd to feed,

Tyrwhitt found difficulty and proposed to read

Sluttery to such neat excellence opposed  
Should made desire vomit, emptiness  
Not so allure to feed,

because, even after the attempts of Warburton and Johnson, he was still 'unable to comprehend how desire, or any other thing, could be made to vomit emptiness'.<sup>7</sup> Johnson considers the objection calmly and expounds

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1773, viii. 365.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 106; iii. 375, 431; viii. 141; ix. 156.

<sup>3</sup> *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* (2nd edition, 1767), pp. 65-66.

<sup>4</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1773, iii. 275.

<sup>6</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1773, iii. 275-6.

<sup>5</sup> *Review*, p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> *Observations and Conjectures*, p. 8.



the passage in a 'Johnsonian' sentence: 'This is not ill-conceived, but I think my own explanation right. *To vomit emptiness*, is in the language of poetry, to feel the convulsions of eructation without plenitude.'<sup>1</sup> Tyrwhitt's criticism of a passage in *Timon of Athens*, IV. iii. 248, draws forth Johnson's paraphrase of the difficult line 'Worse than the worst content'. Tyrwhitt had proposed to read 'Worse than the worst, contented is most happy', because 'without a supplement like this no meaning can be drawn from it'.<sup>2</sup> Johnson explains the difficult line, but adds a rebuff at the end of his note: 'Best states contentless have a wretched being, a being worse than that of the worst states that are content. This one would think too plain to be mistaken.'<sup>3</sup> The passage gives a good example of Johnson's ability to explain difficult matter in simple words.

To Tyrwhitt's criticisms we owe one of the best of Johnson's notes on the canon of Shakespeare. In his *Observations and Conjectures* Tyrwhitt advanced in support of Shakespeare's authorship of *Titus Andronicus* the argument that Meres included it in his list in *Palladis Tamia*.<sup>4</sup> Tyrwhitt was the first scholar to quote Meres's list in print and to appreciate its value for the study of the canon. With all the enthusiasm of a discoverer he concluded that the testimony of Meres put the argument beyond doubt. Tyrwhitt's note was placed at the beginning of the play in the 1773 edition<sup>5</sup> and at the end there is this reply by Johnson:

The testimony produced at the beginning of this play, by which it is ascribed to Shakespeare, is by no means equal to the argument against its authenticity, arising from the total difference of conduct, language, and sentiments, by which it stands apart from all the rest. Meeres had probably no other evidence than that of a title-page, which, though in our time it be sufficient, was then of no great authority; for all the plays which were rejected by the first collectors of Shakespeare's works, and admitted in later editions, and again rejected by the critical editors, had Shakespeare's name on the title, as we must suppose, by the fraudulence of the printers, who, while there were yet no gazettes, nor advertisements, nor any means of circulating literary intelligence, could usurp at pleasure any celebrated name. Nor had Shakespeare any interest in detecting the imposture, as none of his fame or profit was produced by the press.<sup>6</sup>

The evidence of Meres, so decisive for Tyrwhitt, Johnson rejects because it conflicts with the more valuable internal evidence.

With the observations on notes by Steevens, observations which usually confirm or supplement Steevens's argument, we come to the end of Johnson's rejoinders. The rest of his new material was acquired during researches between 1765 and 1773. Part of it is the by-product of the other

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1773, ix. 181-2.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* viii. 365.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Observations and Conjectures*, pp. 15-16.

<sup>5</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1773, viii. 403-4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 492.

great undertaking that occupied him at this period, the revision of his *Dictionary*. These are lexicographical notes some of which echo in word and phrase the entries in the 1773 *Dictionary*. His original note on *informal* in *Measure for Measure*, v. i. 120, reads: 'I once believed that *informal* had no other, or deeper, significance than *informing*, *accusing*. The scope of justice, is the full extent.'<sup>1</sup> He adds in the Appendix: 'I think, upon further enquiry, that *informal* signifies *incompetent*, *not qualified to give testimony*. Of this use I think there are precedents to be found, though I cannot now recover them.'<sup>2</sup> Both of these notes (with only a minor verbal change) are reprinted as one in the 1773 *Shakespeare*<sup>3</sup> and are closely related to the entry in the 1773 *Dictionary*: 'Informal; irregular, not competent. A word not used' where the illustrative quotation is this passage from *Measure for Measure*. The connexion between his revision of the *Dictionary* and his work on Shakespeare is equally clear from his lexicographical notes on *purchase*,<sup>4</sup> *roam*,<sup>5</sup> and above all *importable*.<sup>6</sup> In 1765 Johnson could not make up his mind about this word, but, because Spenser, as he thought, used it in the same way as Shakespeare, decided to leave it in the text. In 1773 he added this sentence to his note: 'Importable was not a word peculiar to Spenser, but used by the last translators of the Apocrypha, and therefore such a word as Shakespeare may be supposed to have written.' The 1773 *Dictionary* has a similar addition: 'It is used in the *Apocrypha*.'

Not all the new lexicographical notes came from the revision of the *Dictionary*. A few of them, like those on *romage*,<sup>7</sup> *tarre*,<sup>8</sup> *idle*,<sup>9</sup> and *pregnant*<sup>10</sup> are drawn from the definitions in the 1755 *Dictionary* where the illustrative quotations are the passages annotated in the 1773 *Shakespeare*. There are others written specially for this edition. Occasionally he adds to the work of other scholars. Pope's note on *Hamlet*, I. iii. 125, explaining *tether* as 'a string to tie horses' was not accurate enough for Johnson who added: '*Tether* is that string by which an animal, set to graze in grounds unenclosed, is confined within the proper limits.'<sup>11</sup> He shows great interest in technical and 'popular language', bringing his knowledge to bear on the explanation of rare words like *rascal deer* which he explains as 'the term of chace for lean poor deer'<sup>12</sup> and *pun*, which he describes as 'the vulgar and colloquial word' in the midland counties for *pound*.<sup>13</sup> He quotes popular usage to supplement his explanation of the phrase 'the quality and hair of our attempt' in *Henry IV*, iv. i. 61, by adding: 'We still say something is *against the hair* as *against the grain*, that is, against the natural tendency.'<sup>14</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1765, i. 369.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* viii, sig. II.

<sup>3</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1773, ii. 129-30.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* x. 261.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 197.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 253-4. *Importable* is Johnson's conjecture for *impossible slanders* in *Much Ado About Nothing*, II. i. 254-5. <sup>7</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1773, x. 152. <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219. <sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 381-2.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 202

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* x. 175.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 221.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* ix. 42.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.* v. 326.

From time to time he passes judgement on the propriety of words or phrases. To his explanation of *land-dam* in *The Winter's Tale*, II. i. 142, he adds that it is 'probably one of those words which caprice brought into fashion, and which, after a short time, reason and grammar drove irrecoverably away'.<sup>1</sup> These notes demonstrate the connexion 'between Samuel Johnson M.A. the lexicographer, and Dr. Johnson the commentator'.

The new textual notes show that he continued to find help where he could in establishing the true reading. He acknowledges his obligations to the manuscript notes of Thirlby<sup>2</sup> which he had been enabled to consult by the favour of Sir Edward Walpole.<sup>3</sup> The addition to his note on *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. i. 251, 'O'er canopied with luscious woodbine', reveals that he consulted a copy of the first folio which had been used and annotated by Theobald. He discovered that the hand was Theobald's after the publication of the 1765 edition.<sup>4</sup>

Occasionally we find Johnson's collation at fault as when he attributes to Hanmer a reading found in the first folio;<sup>5</sup> but, as Steevens reminds us, he was often handicapped by the imperfect printing of the folio as well as by defective eyesight. The 1765 note, on *Cymbeline*, I. i. 49—'A glass that feared them'—was written on the assumption that the reading of the first folio was *feared*. This note was repeated in 1773 with the illuminating addition by Steevens: 'I believe Dr. Johnson is mistaken as to the reading of the folio which is *feated*'. The page of the copy which he consulted is very faintly printed; but I have seen another since which plainly gives this reading.<sup>6</sup> Johnson then adds a sentence to explain the meaning of *feated*.

His practice in textual criticism follows the principles that guided him in 1765 and is, if anything, more conservative. Of the new notes which deal directly with emendation, about a third propose small changes in the text, while the remainder reject emendations, his own or the proposals of other scholars, in favour of explanation of the text. As we read these notes we constantly find him defending the 'original reading';<sup>7</sup> suggesting that there is 'no necessity of alteration';<sup>8</sup> rejecting the readings of 'modern editors';<sup>9</sup> and declaring that 'the old reading may stand'.<sup>10</sup> He makes his attitude clear when rejecting an emendation by Sir Thomas Hanmer: 'This emendation was received in the former edition but seems not necessary. It were to be wished that we all explained more and amended less.'<sup>11</sup> He is

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1773, iv. 288.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Shakespeare*, 1765, sig. li 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1773, iii. 39-40; cf. edition of 1765, x, sig. li 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1773, iii. 222-3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 248.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 71-72.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* ix. 156.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* viii. 292.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 104.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 87.

just as severe on his own frolics in conjecture. Of the passage in *Macbeth*, iv. iii. 84-86,

This avarice  
Sticks deeper, grows with more pernicious root  
Than summer seeming lust . . .

he writes: 'When I was younger and bolder I corrected it thus, *Than fume or seething lust*, that is, Than angry passion or boiling lust.'<sup>1</sup> These notes show that Johnson could still claim that his first labour was 'always to turn the old text on every side, and try if there be any interstice, through which light can find its way'.

The explanatory notes also remind us of the 1765 edition and contain some of his best work. They provide examples of the famous Johnsonian paraphrases designed to interpret the text when textual and lexicographical aids fail or cannot be applied. The best of them is his treatment of the soliloquy in *Macbeth*, I. vii. 1-28.

If it were done, when 'tis done, then 'twere well  
It were done quickly . . .

Of this soliloquy the meaning is not very clear; I have never found the readers of Shakespeare agreeing about it. I understand it thus:

If that which I am about to do, when it is once *done* and executed, were *done* and ended without any following effects, it would then be best to *do it quickly*; if the murder could terminate in itself, and restrain the regular course of consequences, if *its success* could secure *its surcease*, if being once *done successfully*, without detection, it could *fix a period* to all vengeance and enquiry, so that *this blow* might be all that I have to do, and this anxiety all that I have to suffer; if this could be my condition, *even here in this world*, in this contracted period of temporal existence, on this narrow *bank* in the ocean of eternity, *I would jump the life to come*, I would venture upon the deed without any care of any future state. But this is one of *these cases* in which judgment is pronounced and vengeance inflicted upon us *here* in our present life. We teach others to do as we have done, and are punished by our own example.<sup>2</sup>

It is an excellent example of Johnson's method of explanation by paraphrase.

At the same time he increased the number of illustrative passages from English authors, especially Elizabethan and Jacobean. We find passages from or references to the Apocrypha,<sup>3</sup> Davies 'the Elizabethan poet',<sup>4</sup> Milton's *Comus*,<sup>5</sup> Donne,<sup>6</sup> Spenser,<sup>7</sup> 'Lord Bacon',<sup>8</sup> and Chapman's *Widow's Tears*.<sup>9</sup> For vocabulary he quotes Chaucer's *Nonne Preestes Tale*<sup>10</sup> and the

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1773, iv. 504. Apparently Johnson did not print this correction in 1765.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 428.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, vi. 221.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, vii. 130.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, ii. 253-4.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 297.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, x. 327.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, iii. 12-13.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 408.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 417.

Anglo-Saxon version of the Pentateuch.<sup>1</sup> He also consults scholarly works like Minshew's *Guide into the Tongues*,<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Smyth's *De Sermone Anglico*,<sup>3</sup> and, for a linguistic point, the 'Preface to the *Accidence*'.<sup>4</sup> He goes to the classics and draws attention to the resemblance between Catullus' address to Hymen and phrases in the masque at the end of *As You Like It*.<sup>5</sup>

He keeps abreast of the study of sources. It must have been Farmer's *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* that induced the more precise note on *The Winter's Tale*. In 1765 he wrote: 'The story is taken from the novel of *Dorastus and Faunia*, which may be read in *Shakespeare Illustrated*.'<sup>6</sup> In 1773 he omits the reference to *Shakespeare Illustrated* and gives instead the name of the author of the novel, Robert Greene.<sup>7</sup> He is no less interested in the canon. Mention has already been made of his note on *Titus Andronicus*, in which he questions the value of Tyrwhitt's evidence for the Shakespearean authorship of the play. A second note deals with *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*: 'That this play is rightly attributed to Shakespeare I have little doubt. If it be taken from him, to whom shall it be given? This question may be asked of all the disputed plays except *Titus Andronicus*; and it will be found more credible, that Shakespeare might sometimes sink below his highest flights, than that any other should rise up to his lowest.'<sup>8</sup> This judgement, beginning with a remark on the authenticity of the play, grows into one of those massive statements found so often in the Preface. Indeed it is one of Johnson's most unqualified pronouncements on the greatness of Shakespeare.

Other observations recall his remarks on the faults of Shakespeare. In his note on a difficulty in *Troilus and Cressida*, III. iii. 179-80, a problem that had occupied his attention in 1765, he offers a comment on Theobald's attempt and adds: 'There is no other corruption than such as Shakespeare's incorrectness often resembles.'<sup>9</sup> Similarly, in his endeavour to make sense of a passage in *The Winter's Tale*, I. i. 459-61, again a second attempt, he builds up an ingenious paraphrase, but concludes in exasperation: 'This is such meaning as can be picked out.'<sup>10</sup>

More valuable is his general estimate of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, a criticism he surely wrote *con amore* as he was discussing one of his favourite characters, Falstaff:

Of this play there is a tradition preserved by Mr. Rowe, that it was written at the command of queen Elizabeth, who was so delighted with the character of Falstaff, that she wished it to be diffused through more plays; but suspecting that it might pall by continued uniformity, directed the poet to diversify his manner, by shewing him in love. No task is harder than that of writing to the

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1773, x. 381-2.    <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vi. 72.    <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 346.    <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 236.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* iii. 337.

<sup>6</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1765, ii. 349.

<sup>7</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1773, iv. 257.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* i. 189.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* ix. 85.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* iv. 281-2.

ideas of another. Shakespeare knew what the queen, if the story be true, seems not to have known, that by any real passion of tenderness, the selfish craft, the careless jollity, and the lazy luxury of Falstaff, must have suffered so much abatement, that little of his former cast would have remained. Falstaff could not love, but by ceasing to be Falstaff. He could only counterfeit love, and his professions could be prompted, not by the hope of pleasure, but of money. Thus the poet approached as near as he could to the work enjoined him; yet having perhaps in the former plays completed his own idea, seems not to have been able to give Falstaff all his former power of entertainment.

This comedy is remarkable for the variety and number of the personages, who exhibit more characters appropriated and discriminated, than perhaps can be found in any other play.

Whether Shakespeare was the first that produced upon the English stage the effect of language distorted and depraved by provincial or foreign pronunciation, I cannot certainly decide. This mode of forming ridiculous characters can confer praise only on him, who originally discovered it, for it requires not much of either wit or judgment: its success must be derived almost wholly from the player, but its power in a skilful mouth, even he that despises it, is unable to resist.

The conduct of this drama is deficient; the action begins and ends often before the conclusion, and the different parts might change places without inconvenience; but its general power, that power by which all works of genius shall finally be tried, is such, that perhaps it never yet had reader or spectator, who did not think it too soon at an end.<sup>1</sup>

This remarkable note illustrates the views stated in the Preface about Shakespeare's excellencies in comedy and his deficiencies in construction.

Johnson's constant preoccupation with principles and methods adds weight to many of his textual notes, as in this observation on a passage in *Macbeth*, III. i. 56-58. In 1765 he could not solve the problem set by the lines:

My genius is rebuked, as it is said  
Mark Antony's was by Caesar. He chid the sisters  
When first they put the name of king upon me . . .

and proposed to omit the phrase 'as it is said/Mark Antony's was by Caesar.' In defence of the omission he wrote: 'If these words are taken away, by which not only the thought but the numbers are injured the lines of Shakespeare close together without any traces of a breach.'<sup>2</sup> His revision reads:

This note was written before I was fully acquainted with Shakespeare's manner, and I do not now think it of much weight; for though the words, which I was once willing to eject, seem interpolated, I believe they may still be genuine, and added by the authour in his revision. The authour of the *Revisal* cannot admit the measure to be faulty. There is only one foot, he says, put for another. This is one of the effects of literature in minds not naturally perspicacious. Every boy

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1773, i. 311-12.

<sup>2</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1765, vi. 424.



or girl finds the metre imperfect, but the pedant comes to its defence with a tribrachys or an anapaest, and sets it right at once by applying to one language the rules of another. If we may be allowed to change feet, like the old comic writers, it will not be easy to write a line not metrical. To hint this once, is sufficient.<sup>1</sup>

To read this is to remember the part of the Preface where Johnson examines the performance of his predecessors. There is the same grasp of principle and the same satirical treatment of loose thinking. The notes added in 1773 show that in scholarship as in general criticism Johnson held fast to the practice which made the 1765 edition the landmark it is in Shakespearian scholarship and that he still had much to say. They bear all the marks of his genius, for Johnson could not write, even on technical matters, without revealing himself. Here, tucked away in a note on the song in *Cymbeline*, iv. ii, 'Fear no more the heat o' the sun,' is a remark worthy of the 'great moralist'.

The poet's sentiment seems to have been this. All human excellence is equally subject to the stroke of death; neither the power of kings, nor the science of scholars, nor the art of those whose immediate study is the prolongation of life, can protect them from the final destiny of man.<sup>2</sup>

The grandeur and solemnity of the sentence take us away from textual criticism and remind us that this annotator of Shakespeare was also the author of *The Rambler* and *The Vanity of Human Wishes*.

#### LIST OF JOHNSON'S ADDITIONS

Where there is more than one note bearing Johnson's signature on a given page of the 1773 edition, the number of the new note is given in brackets after the numbers of the volume and page, e.g. i. 46 (9); for pages where there can be no doubt the number of the footnote has been omitted. When the new material consists of a sentence or paragraph, added to a note written in 1765, the entry is in italics.

- i. 5, 17, 45 (7), 46 (9), 69 (4), 100 (7), 100-1 (8), 117 (8), 189, 198 (2), 210 (7), 213 (6), 219 (1), 257, 308 (8), 311-12.
- ii. 8 (8), 18, 22-23 (9), 27 (9), 32 (1), 40 (9), 42, 45 (2), 51-52 (9), 55 (5), 71-72 (8), 82 (2), 83, 87, 103, 104-5, 106, 108 (4), 129-30 (4), 193 (3), 210, 247-8 (6), 249 (2), 253-4 (8), 427 (6), 466 (7).
- iii. 6 (8), 8, 9 (6), 12 (2), 12-13 (3), 15 (8), 17 (4), 24 (4), 39-40, 42, 45, 52 (9), 62-63 (8), 88 (5), 104 (2), 107,\* 127, 138-9 (3), 167-8 (9), 187 (4), 204-5 (3), 266, 288-9, 297, 329, 333 (8), 337 (7), 346 (1), 351, 375 (2), 431.
- iv. 9-10 (6), 23 (4), 41 (8), 87 (7), 96 (7), 116-17 (5), 193 (7), 201 (2), 202 (5),

<sup>1</sup> *Shakespeare*, 1773, iv. 459-60.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* ix. 259.

- 207 (5), 215-16 (6), 235 (6), 236 (1), 236 (9), 249 (3), 249 (4), 257, 259-60 (5), 261 (6), 267 (2), 271 (1), 280 (1), 281-2, 284, 288 (2), 306,\* 306 (7), 327 (7), 346 (1), 346 (9), 386, 400 (4), 422-3 (3), 426 (5), 428 (2), 435 (2), 459-60, 463,\* 472 (2), 477 (2), 492 (3), 504 (2), 506 (5), 525-6.
- v. 45 (6), 132 (3), 175, 234 (4), 259-60 (3), 261 (6), 270 (3), 278 (6), 282 (9), 325-6 (9), 326 (2), 353 (4), 418 (3), 425-6 (9), 465 (2).
- vi. 4-5 (8), 11 (8), 16 (1), 24 (4), 154 (5), 167 (7), 176, 185 (1), 190 (3), 191 (6), 197 (1), 200, 212 (4), 221 (7), 221 (9), 248 (7), 283 (1), 297 (7), 344, 392 (1), 408 (1).
- vii. 35, 91, 95 (7), 130 (6), 166 (1), 186 (3), 267 (5), 297-8 (1), 319 (9), 372 (8), 378 (9).
- viii. 25 (6), 126 (7), 134 (1), 141 (4), 172 (4), 173 (6), 193 (6), 258 (7), 278 (9), 283 (9), 292 (4), 293 (8), 296 (5), 305-6 (9), 322 (7), 323 (1), 324 (3), 345 (2), 365 (7), 367-8 (7), 398 (3), 492.
- ix. 14 (4), 17 (7), 42 (6), 85 (3), 156 (5), 170, 181-2 (3), 184 (6), 188 (1), 213 (6), 259 (4), 275, 311, 327 (7), 350 (5), 353, 366 (7), 384-5 (7), 395 (6), 402 (7), 408 (8), 416 (3), 417 (6), 422, 434 (5).
- x. 149 (4), 152 (3), 152 (4), 152 (7), 156 (8), 159 (4), 164 (9), 170 (2), 173 (3), 175 (9), 179 (2), 183 (9), 190 (7), 219 (6), 270-1 (5), 284 (3), 289 (4), 305 (1), 327 (6), 371 (1), 381-2 (8), 388-9 (4), 417, 438, 461 (2).

To isolate the new material we have to omit the following notes taken over from the 1765 appendix.

- i. 100-1 (8), 117 (8).
- ii. 82 (2), 129-30 (4), 345 (6), 395-4 (4), 418 (2), 442 (7).
- iii. 38, 107,\* 187 (4), 329.
- iv. 96 (7), 259-60 (5), 335 (2), 362 (9), 363 (1), 370 (7).
- v. 451 (2).
- vi. 48 (8), 72 (4), 99-100 (4), 123 (1), 169 (1).
- vii. 171 (4).
- x. 179 (1), 190 (7).

Examination of the first volume of the edition of 1778 has shown that it contains all the new notes with the omission of a brief sentence, 'Hornpipe-wine has no meaning', in the reply to Tyrwhitt on *The Merry Wives*, III. ii. 94 (p. 305; 1773 ed., p. 257). The only addition to them that has been found is in the first note on *The Merry Wives* (p. 219): 'This play should be read between *K. Henry IV* and *K. Henry V*.' But it was in 1778 that Johnson inserted in the Preface this sentence about Shakespeare, 'What he does best, he soon ceases to do.'

## BROWNING AND 'MARK RUTHERFORD'

By WILFRED H. STONE

IN the recent volume, *New Letters of Robert Browning*,<sup>1</sup> edited by William C. DeVane and Kenneth L. Knickerbocker, are included two letters from Browning to William Hale White, who is better known to the literary world under his pseudonym, 'Mark Rutherford'. This printing marks the first public acknowledgement of any relationship between these two men and, slight though that relationship was, we may profit by viewing it in more detail. Such an investigation will reward the Browning scholar by bringing to light several unpublished and virtually unknown letters of the poet and by adding an interesting and important footnote to his knowledge of Browning's literary acquaintance. And for those who have known Hale White only through the gloomy, introspective fiction of 'Mark Rutherford', the reward will lie in affording a glimpse of the man behind the mask.

The proper introduction is a word about Hale White. In his first book, *The Autobiography of Mark Rutherford*, published in 1881 and written when the author had already reached middle age, Hale White describes the painful pilgrimage of an heretical Calvinist trying to find a substitute for his lost spiritual assurance in the secular world of experience. It is a tale of loneliness, misery, and failure, and is a fairly accurate account of a period of Hale White's own life. But in its sequel, *Mark Rutherford's Deliverance*, published four years later, the author describes how this failure was the very means of bringing a kind of success in spiritual discovery. Doubt and despair had taught this rudderless Bunyan the futility of seeking absolute security in the world of men and the wisdom of drawing one's moral values from the imperfect raw material of life as one found it. This is one of his most eloquent confessions:<sup>2</sup>

I had discovered that my appetite was far larger than my powers. Consumed by a longing for continuous intercourse with the best, I had no ability whatever to maintain it, and I had accepted as a fact, however mysterious it might be, that the human mind is created with the impulses of a seraph and the strength of a man.

This statement is important for understanding the nature of Hale White's relationship with Browning and, indeed, with several other Victorian writers among his acquaintance. For his 'longing for continuous intercourse with the best' was not simply a longing for perfection in virtue and knowledge; it was also a deep craving to be on intimate terms with the

<sup>1</sup> Yale University Press, 1950.

<sup>2</sup> *Mark Rutherford's Deliverance* (Oxford, 1936), p. 2.

'best' men, especially with those poets and writers who claimed to have discovered some order beneath the apparent spiritual anarchy of the nineteenth century. He longed to know these great men as he had once known God; in a very real sense they were his substitute for God. But Hale White himself was morbidly shy, insecure, self-absorbed, and these qualities, while perhaps inspiring the proper humility before one's Maker, did not make for ease or grace in human relationships. In the course of his life he became personally acquainted with Browning, Carlyle, George Eliot, Emerson, Mazzini, Maurice, Ruskin, Swinburne, Watts-Dunton, Morris, and others, but with none of them did he maintain a close or lasting relationship. The same sense of insecurity and self-doubt that drove him to seek them out and crave their friendship drove him back to hide in his lonely study and in himself.<sup>1</sup> He was morbidly afraid of being thought 'pushing' or merely one of the vulgar curious, and he could bring himself to write or visit these men only when he had a carefully plotted 'reason' for doing so, such as the contribution of some bit of scholarly research or some earnest question about their work, which would conceal under a guise of intellectual seriousness his longing for mere personal notice. In the quoted passage he repudiates this intercourse with the 'best' as something beyond his powers to maintain, but this should be taken more as a confession of his almost pathological sense of inferiority than as a final statement of his 'deliverance'. He remained a hero-worshipper throughout his life, but when the distance between himself and his heroes narrowed to something like intimacy, he always ran away; the sight of their confidence and worldly success only intensified his own sense of failure, and the necessity of maintaining manly dignity in their presence instead of throwing himself at their feet only served as a tormenting reminder that these surrogate gods were no substitute for the real thing. His statement of 'deliverance' was born of one of those moments when his pride was festering in defeat; he merely did his best to make that defeat appear as a spiritual victory. His whole life can be described as a drawn battle between pride and humility, between a hunger to know and attain absolutes and a bitter acknowledgement of his own weakness and unworthiness.

It was such a man, inspired by such needs and motives, who wrote to Browning around 1 May 1879 remarking appreciatively upon the poem, 'Ned Bratts', which Browning had published on 28 April in *Dramatic Idylls* (1st series) and which had been based on *Mr. Badman* of Hale White's favourite author, John Bunyan. This letter and its sequel are included in the volume of letters edited by Mr. DeVane and Mr. Knickerbocker and

<sup>1</sup> He speaks, for example, of a 'Demon of pure Malignity' which caused him to break off relations with George Eliot. See 'Confessions of a Self-Tormenter' in *More Pages from a Journal* (Oxford, 1910), p. 121.

need not be reproduced here. But some of the details in those letters are pertinent to our discussion. Along with praise of the poem, Hale White in his first letter offered Browning a portrait of Bunyan. In his reply Browning graciously declined to deprive Hale White's wall of its decoration; but the portrait was sent anyway, and on 9 May Browning wrote thanking Hale White for his gift and extending an invitation to luncheon. Hale White accepted, and their first meeting took place on 15 May 1879.

Following the interview Hale White made several pages of careful notes, recording in detail every important item in their conversation. These notes have never hitherto been published and the manuscript is now in the possession of Mrs. D. V. White, Hale White's second wife. Though they add little of importance to our knowledge of Browning, they are of considerable intrinsic interest so far as the relationship itself is concerned. The notes were informal and are reproduced here with the original punctuation and spelling.

May 15—1879

Went to see Mr. Browning at 19 Warwick Crescent, Harrow Road. Got there at one o'clock and had lunch with him by appointment. His sister was the only other person there except his son who came in for a few minutes. I had come to know Browning through his poem of 'Ned Bratts'. I sent him a portrait of Bunyan and this invitation was the result. He was extremely cordial and unreserved but yet his cordiality and frankness covered a deeper reserve for he was altogether *objective* in his conversation never once showing a trace of anything more than the cultivated man of the world with literary refined tastes. He professed great admiration for Bunyan and took down his works in which he pointed out the passage in 'Mr. Badman' on which the story of Ned Bratts was founded. It is a story of an old sinner who confessed himself at Hertford assizes and was hanged with his wife. He spoke of Shelley. When he first learned to know Shelley nobody cared anything about him. He had got his mother to go to a shop in Covent Garden and buy all the works of Shelley she could lay her hands on. Amongst them was a copy of the first edition of the *Adonais* which he gave away afterwards to a man who was a great scoundrel. His opinion of Shelley as a man had been somewhat modified of late years. His first impressions of him had been taken from Leigh Hunt who altogether misrepresented Harriet Westbrook. Harriet was at the same school with the baronet's daughters. He (Browning) had seen letters from her after her marriage in which she said she was learning Latin and had got so far as to read Horace. She could not be the uneducated incompatible person Leigh Hunt describes. Leigh Hunt although a republican sneers at her as the hotelkeepers daughter. Browning had seen other letters from her after Shelley had left her asking passionately what had become of him. She knew nothing of any estrangement till Shelley had gone. The factious Shelley met Mary Godwin and fell in love with her and Old Godwin 'whom I take to have been a great rascal' was flattered by the notion of his daughter's alliance with a future baronet. Shelley left his wife, left one child born and another unborn,

went away for two years and then wanted his children back again. Mr. Westbrook naturally said you have ruined my daughter, deserted your children and you shall not have them. Lord Eldon on being appealed to said the same thing. His judgment had been misconstrued. He did not refuse Shelley the custody of his children because he was an atheist but because he found in his books passages which made him believe that he would not be faithful to the children & bring them up as it was fair to expect they should be brought up. Browning thought Shelley crazed at times. Shelley gravely asked Basil Montague the lawyer whether his wife and Mary could not live harmoniously under the same roof with him. Montague told him he could not be serious. Shelley was however quite serious. At the same time nothing Browning said of Shelley seemed to shake his faith in his genius.

Showed me Mrs. Brownings books full of her notes. Mostly classical books Greek and Latin which she read easily. Also her pocket Bible, a *Hebrew Bible* also full of notes. 'Whenever I came to a difficulty' said Browning 'in translating Greek she would look over my shoulder and render it for me.' Talfourds likeness Browning thought was good but her face varied very much. She had very dark hair and blue eyes—was rather slim and small. Showed me the book which was the foundation of the Ring and the Book. Bought it in Italy for eight pence. Offered it to two or three of his friends who wrote tales but they could make nothing of it and at last determined to use it himself. In that book is a reference to the trial of Beatrice. Shelleys Beatrice. The advocate\* says that Beatrice might have been saved if she would have confessed completely; but she would not and could not recount the horrible crimes which had been attempted towards her.

\* The same advocate which defended Beatrice. I am not perfectly sure whether Browning said that this observation of Beatrice's advocate was in that book, but that Browning said that her advocate did say this—I am certain—Does not believe the new stories about Beatrice. Does not believe she had a child. Knew all that could be said on that side before the last book was published. (What is the name of that book (I read a review of it in the Edinburgh of last January) Saw the chair Mrs. Browning used to sit in and her table. Came away at 3 o'clock with an invitation to go again which of course I shall not accept unless it is repeated

W. Hale White

So far as we know the invitation was not voluntarily repeated, but in January of 1881 Hale White found another reason for writing to Browning: this time, a request for some information about George Eliot, who had recently died. We do not possess Hale White's letter, but we can reconstruct part of it from the quoted phrases in Browning's reply. In those quoted phrases we can detect the authentic tones of Hale White's customary self-depreciation. Though the 'reason' of the letter was a respectable request for some literary information, we can be quite certain that its true purpose was something else: namely, to secure Browning's attention. Hale



White was a master at advertising his humility and unworthiness in such a way that the person hearing his words had no choice but to protest the opposite. It was the device of a Puritan at prayer, but in this case of one who was reduced to seeking his gods on this earth. If such were Hale White's secret purpose in addressing Browning again, it succeeded admirably. This is Browning's reply, hitherto unpublished, the manuscript of which is in the possession of Mrs. D. V. White.

19 Warwick Crescent

Jan. 9. '81

Dear Mr. Hale White,

You should never talk of 'intruding on me', 'inflicting your presence', and so forth: it would vex me indeed if, on second thoughts, you really believed that a repetition of what I so greatly enjoyed—your company for an hour or two—would turn to 'a trouble'. I shall be more happy to see you than I was before—having now a knowledge of what I may expect. But enough of this, and in reply to your letter: yes, I had the signal honor of an acquaintance with George Eliot,—to friendship, as I understand it, I could not pretend, various hindrances to much intercourse having existed. Of the abundant good will to me I always possessed plenty of proof—which I do not recur to just now without something like compunction. I attended the funeral of Lewes by her desire, and had a gracious word of acknowledgement for it: and it was said that my invitation to assist at the late ceremony was in conformity with what would have been expressed as her wishes were that possible. I never saw Mr. Cross, to my knowledge, before the other day, and have waited in consequence to ascertain whether he is in town—as no one seems able to give me the information you require, and I must speak to himself directly. This I will do as soon as possible, if you can get no earlier intelligence. Would not Mr. K. Paul,—a friend and present at the funeral—be in a position to make inquiry? Mr Pollock, yesterday, suggested an application to 'George Eliot's publisher'—but *he* might see possibilities or probabilities which would make him cautious in his answer, one way or another.

At all events, on the first occasion, I will learn all I can and tell you the result. Meantime, and always, believe me,

Dear Mr Hale White,

Yours very truly

Robert Browning

On 24 June of the same year notes were exchanged between Hale White and Browning arranging times and dates for their second meeting. Mrs. White copied a fragment of Browning's which read: 'You will do me a pleasure indeed by calling tomorrow as you so kindly offer to do. . . .' A record of this meeting as of the first was meticulously preserved by Hale White. These notes were apparently written immediately after the visit and contain some important pieces of literary gossip.

Saturday—25 June 1881

Went to see Mr. Browning at 19 Warwick Crescent—He told me that Carlyle had been attracted to him through his books. Carlyle had read Paracelsus when he was a young man and had read all his books since. Mr. Browning had letters from him retracting his former advice that he—Browning—should not write poetry. Carlyle had read the Ring & the Book with eagerness and used to ask Forster when the next volumes would be out.

Browning thought Carlyle's condemnation of Charles Lamb was thoroughly wrong. He had passed over all Lamb's good qualities and had pitched upon this one weakness of gin drinking. He remembered asking Barry Cornwall who was the best man he had ever known and Barry Cornwall said Charles Lamb. Recalled said Mr. B. what he did for his sister. His sister would have gone to a lunatic asylum—such places those lunatic asylums were in those days—but Charles L. volunteered to take care of her. I have heard say that when he went out he never knew he might not meet his sister flourishing a knife to murder him. He had a tendency to insanity himself and he no doubt took drink—not in excessive quantities—to relieve himself from his burdens. He was very generous on very small means and yet never wrong in money matters. I have heard Lord Houghton say that Charles Lamb's house and Holland House were the two houses in London—in different ways—into which cultivated people could go with pleasure—Carlyle's bitter things were mostly due to Mrs. Carlyle. She had a mocking temper—She had been disappointed—Carlyle himself had a most kindly heart.

Swinburne quarrelled with Furnival and called him a drunken clown. Furnival retaliated and talked about Swinburne's damaged reputation. Swinburne went to Browning as President of the Shakespeare Society and told him he must take sides—Browning refused and thereupon Swinburne threatened that he would never again 'sign himself Your svt<sup>1</sup>—A.S.'—Browning laughed at him and reminded him of the 'drunken clown' to show him that if he had been wronged, he had also wronged Furnivall. Swinburne forgave Browning. Browning says Swinburne is altogether a gentleman but he is restless, mobile, never able to sit still and combative. He was at Oxford and somebody asked him for his stick to lift a bee out of a basin—'If it were a wasp' he replied 'I would help it.'

Browning thought that G. H. Lewes had much improved of late years. He had been performing a series of physiological experiments and after describing them in great detail to Browning he said 'And what do you think the result was? I found that I was in utter ignorance.' 'I am glad' said Browning 'that you have caught me up.'

Latterly he never went to Mrs. Cross's receptions—People went there who ought not to have been there—people with no sympathy for her—mere fashionable people—

<sup>1</sup> In the original the initials seem to be prefaced 'Yours re', but it seems more reasonable to suppose that Hale White abbreviated 'servant'.

Soon after this meeting there was another short-lived period of correspondence. After the publication of Matthew Arnold's selection of Byron's poetry, Hale White's interest in this hero of his youth revived and issued in two essays: 'The Morality of Byron's Poetry', and 'Byron, Goethe, and Mr. Matthew Arnold.' Both of these articles were prepared with the encouragement and help of Ruskin and were sent to the *Contemporary Review* with his blessing. The new editor of the *Contemporary*, Mr. Percy Bunting, returned the first on the grounds that it was a 'defence of immorality', but the second was printed<sup>1</sup> and drew letters of praise from, among others, Browning. In this essay Hale White took issue with Arnold's interpretation of Goethe's famous statement about Byron: *So bald er reflectirt ist er ein Kind*, claiming that Arnold did not understand the meaning of the word 'reflect' as Goethe used it and pointing out that Goethe in other contexts praised Byron extravagantly. Browning's letter is not among those in the possession of Mrs. D. V. White, but before she sent it for sale at Sotheby's following Hale White's death in 1913 she made a copy of part of it. The original may be extant, but it has never been published.

Hôtel Virard, St. Pierre de Chartreuse  
Isère. France. Aug. 24. '81

... I read and quite approved of your article, which was conclusive as to the proper acceptance of Goethe's remark on Byron: not that I share in the common estimate of Goethe's criticism in general. Did it strike you that Matt: Arnold's selection of passages and poems from Byron was a poor one? I—at all events—do not so 'select' when I go over his works in memory—where they pretty nearly all are. . . .

Pray believe me, dear Mr. Hale White,  
Ever cordially yours  
Robert Browning

After this letter their relationship seems to have languished for nearly nine years. The reason for this eclipse is not clear, but it is perhaps significant that the period from, roughly, 1881 to 1889 was for Hale White a period of almost unrelieved melancholy and emotional depression. It was in those years that he most seriously tried to find some serenity by telling himself that 'continuous intercourse with the best' was beyond his strength, and a logical result of that mood might very well be the conviction that to thrust himself again upon Browning's attention would be shameful and vulgar. But in July 1889 an opportunity for correspondence presented itself which Hale White did not resist. In that month had appeared posthumously the *Letters of Edward FitzGerald*, edited by W. Aldis Wright, and one of the letters contained the, by now, famous insolence of Fitz-

<sup>1</sup> In the *Contemporary Review*, xl (August, 1881), 179-85.

Gerald regarding Mrs. Browning. Though FitzGerald had not written these words for public view and though he was no longer alive to take responsibility for them, Browning was infuriated and penned some violent verses in reply which appeared in the *Athenaeum* of 13 July 1889. By way of reminder it may be convenient to have the documents of this controversy before us. Following Mrs. Browning's death in 1861, FitzGerald had written these words to W. H. Thompson:

Mrs. Browning's Death is rather a relief to me, I must say: no more Aurora Leighs, thank God! A woman of real Genius, I know: but what is the upshot of it all? She and her Sex had better mind the Kitchen and their Children; and perhaps the Poor: except in such things as little Novels, they only devote themselves to what Men do much better, leaving that which Men do worse or not at all.

Browning's vitriolic twelve lines went as follows:

I chanced upon a new book yesterday:  
I opened it, and where my finger lay  
'Twixt page and uncut page those words I read,  
Some six or seven at most, and learned thereby  
That you, FitzGerald, whom by ear and eye  
She never knew, 'thanked God my wife was dead'.

Ay, dead! and were yourself alive, good Fitz,  
How to return you thanks would pass my wits.  
Kicking you seems the common lot of curs—  
While more appropriate greeting lends you grace:  
Surely to spit there glorifies your face—  
Spitting from lips once sanctified by Hers.

The ungentlemanly rage betrayed in these lines has done Browning no honour, and even his most stalwart admirers have been apologetic about them, but the rancour was not, one suspects, inspired simply by this incident. Not only had Browning obviously repudiated the hedonistic philosophy of Omar Khayyam in *Rabbi Ben Ezra*, but in a letter to his son at the time of the incident he had referred to FitzGerald as 'the wretched Irish fribble and "feather-head" as his own friends allowed him to be'.<sup>1</sup> These facts seem to suggest a disaffection long antedating the publication of the unfortunate letter. Moreover, FitzGerald's disapproval of Browning's poetry was no secret, and Browning had undoubtedly heard of it. In a letter to Sir W. F. Pollock on 20 November 1869, FitzGerald had referred to Browning as 'the great Prophet of the Gargoyle School' whose 'uncouth'

<sup>1</sup> *Letters of Robert Browning Collected by Thomas J. Wise*, ed. Thurman L. Hood (New Haven, 1933), p. 312.

works revealed 'little but Cockney Sublime, Cockney Energy, etc.'<sup>1</sup> This letter did not appear in the volume seen by Browning, but he could probably suspect that FitzGerald would express his views in some such language. And it seems undeniable that Browning was jealous of 'Old Fitz's' friendship with Tennyson, 'whose adulatory lick-spittle he always was'.<sup>2</sup> At least Browning was concerned enough about his reputation with the Laureate to mention the incident of the letter even in a birthday greeting; one cannot resist the suspicion that Browning in penning these ambiguous words hoped to bring Tennyson to share his opinion of 'Old Fitz'.<sup>3</sup>

I have had disastrous experience, if I am to believe it, that words may somehow mean the very thing most abhorrent to the habitual mood of the speaker: so may be explained and excused!

This is only a fraction of the evidence that could readily be adduced, but it is enough to explain Browning's strong feeling on the matter and the fact that he would express this strong feeling to even a comparative stranger like Hale White. Hale White had apparently written a commiserating letter immediately after reading Browning's verses in the *Athenaeum*; and this may be the letter Browning enclosed, when writing to his son on 17 July, to show 'how another kind of man feels on the subject . . .'.<sup>4</sup> At any rate Browning was grateful for Hale White's sympathy, as his reply will illustrate. The original of the letter here reproduced is in the possession of Mrs. D. V. White and has never before been published. Perhaps it is also worth mentioning that large parts of it represent almost a paraphrase of one he penned to F. J. Furnivall on the same day.

29 De Vere Gardens W.

July 16 '89

My dear Mr. Hale White,

I am grateful for your kind and sympathetic letter. The outrage, you refer to, came on me by surprise. I should never notice any amount of impertinence concerning the works of my wife: by publishing them she tacitly acknowledged the right of any clown to throw his shoe at her head and call it criticism: but that a man I never saw in my life, and whom she never heard of as existing, should 'feel relieved by her death,' he must say, 'and thank God that her works came to an end thereby,' seems incredibly shocking to me. 'A thoughtless speech' I am told: mine was an equally thoughtless reply, if you please: but I do not believe such samples of what men 'must say,' sprout up from soil unmanured for the production of such growths. You were wrong to have hesitated about calling on

<sup>1</sup> *More Letters of Edward FitzGerald*, ed. W. A. Wright (London, 1902), p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters of Robert Browning*, p. 312.

<sup>3</sup> *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir*, by his son, vol. ii (New York, 1897), pp. 359-60.

<sup>4</sup> *Letters of Robert Browning*, p. 314.

me: it would always be a great pleasure to see and hear you besides taking your hand.

Ever truly yours  
Robert Browning

This letter marked the end of the relationship between Hale White and Browning. Though this small body of correspondence does not greatly increase our knowledge of Browning's life or character, it does bring to our attention a hitherto unrecognized disciple who deserves attention in his own right. For Hale White's slight literary productions are increasingly assuming a firm and dignified place in the literary history of the Victorian period.

But the relationship should be noticed for another reason: it describes a minor episode in the spectacle of Victorian hero-worshipping. Following Browning's death Hale White's opinion of his poetry became less and less favourable, and we should not be too far astray if we attributed this change of taste partly to the fact that Hale White's earthly gods lost something of their value when they could no longer minister personally to his needs. The following are honest criticisms, but we feel they would not have been uttered had Browning still been living. By 30 December 1897 he could write to a friend:<sup>1</sup>

What Browning's 'message' is I do not understand. I never felt that Browning's philosophizing convinced me. It is often nothing but leger-demain.

On 8 October 1899 he wrote again to this same correspondent, Miss Sophia S. Partridge, and expressed still more emphatically his growing disaffection for Browning's poetic productions:<sup>2</sup>

I will take to heart what you say about the Browning Letters, and if I get an opportunity will look at them again. A woman's instinct in such matters is so much surer than a man's that I have no doubt you are right. Very likely my inability to read the Letters is due to a fading interest in B. He has not lasted with me. He plays tricks with his intellect. He also expatiates enormously. I often look at that long shelf, *Inn Album*, *Pacchiarotto*, *Parleyings*, *Red Cotton Night-Cap Country*, &c., &c., and ask myself to what it all comes and whether a line of it will live.

But Hale White's attitude toward feminine critical ability was not always so flattering as this, and these were his words to another friend, Miss Mabel Marsh, on 23 March 1903:<sup>3</sup>

To women pregnant sayings are more than art and Sordello would be placed on a much higher level than Horace or Virgil—To me perhaps one half of Browning is neither prose nor poetry and not worth a single book of the Aeneid or a chapter from David Copperfield. . . .

<sup>1</sup> William Hale White, *Letters to Three Friends* (Oxford, 1924), p. 172.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> Copy of an unpublished letter (fragment).



However, it was in a letter of 10 September 1903 to Miss Partridge that Hale White revealed in a sentence perhaps the deepest reason for his feeling toward Browning. In discussing a mutual friend who was trying to write a novel, Hale White expresses his distress that the would-be author followed the theory that 'in conversation and writing a person's real self should be concealed'.<sup>1</sup> Such a practice was, of course, directly opposed to Hale White's own literary habit, and he not only felt that such self-concealment would result in shoddy art but that it would encourage a habit of dishonesty leading to moral decay of the individual. But the point for our notice is that he blamed Browning's influence for giving her such ideas:<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps she was not well: she certainly for some reason was not happy. I am not going to debate the abstract proposition. She has derived it, I believe, from Browning. But I do want to say that if her book is to be worth anything it must be herself.

For a man so insecure and self-absorbed as Hale White, the merely 'clever' writer or the intellectual casuist could never remain one of his heroes, and when he began to suspect Browning of such faults it was almost inevitable that a spiritual alienation would take place. The heroes who remained deepest in his affections were people of high moral passion like Carlyle and George Eliot and Tennyson; these writers in celebrating their doubt and despair found a kindred spirit in Hale White. But Browning's voice of happy confidence must have puzzled and then distressed him, like the sound of laughter at a funeral.

<sup>1</sup> *Letters to Three Friends*, p. 234.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

## NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

### THE PUBLICATION OF MARLOWE'S *ELEGIES* AND DAVIES'S *EPIGRAMS*

IN his valuable note on 'Unprinted Epigrams of Sir John Davies' Dr. Percy Simpson remarks that 'the *Epigrams* of Sir John Davies were published along with Marlowe's *Elegies* from an edition printed at Middleburgh probably in 1590'.<sup>1</sup> This conjectural dating, which is given as such in *S.T.C.* and *C.B.E.L.*, tends nowadays to be taken for granted, though it is demonstrably wrong. Internal evidence points to 1594 as the backward limit for the composition of Davies's contribution, and two epigrams, common to the printed text and Bodleian MS. Rawlinson poetry 212, are decisive.

The sixth epigram, *In Titum*, reads:

*Titus* the braue and valorous yong gallant,  
Three years together in this towne hath beene,  
Yet my Lord Chauncellors tombe he hath not seene  
Nor the New water worke, nor the Elephant.  
I cannot tell the cause without a smile,  
He hath beene in the Counter all this while.

Here 'my Lord Chauncellors tombe' is clearly that of Sir Christopher Hatton which Stow, in his *Survey*, lists as one of the monuments in St. Paul's:

sir Christopher *Hatton* Lord Chancellor of England, knight of the Garter, aboue the Quier, 1591. vnder a most sumptuous Monument, where a merry poet writ thus.

*Philip and Francis haue no Tombe,  
For great Christopher takes all the roome.*<sup>2</sup>

Stow also throws light on 'the New water worke':

One other new Forcier was made neare to *Broken wharfe*, to conuey Thames water into mens houses of West *Cheape*, aboute *Powles, Fleetstreet*, &c., by an English Gentleman, named *Beuis Bulmer*, in the yeare 1594.<sup>3</sup>

Within the gate of this house, (now belonging to the citie of London) is lately, to wit, in the yeare, 1594. and 1595. builded one large house of great height, called an engine, made by *Beuis Bulmar* Gentleman, for the conueying and forcing of Thames water to serue in the middle and West parts of the Citie.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *R.E.S.*, N.S. iii (1952), 49-50.

<sup>2</sup> Stow's *Survey of London*, ed. C. L. Kingsford, i. 338.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* i. 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 11. Waterworks immediately preceding this one belong to 1582 and 1583 and are obviously too early to be the subject of Davies's reference.

Davies's 'three years together' is, therefore, exact and Titus's imprisonment extended from 1591 to 1594.

Further decisive evidence appears in Epigram 40, *In Afrum*, which tells how

The smell feast *Afer*, trauailes to the burse  
Twice euery day the newest newes to heare  
Which when he hath no money in his purse,  
To rich mens tables he doth often beare.

Amongst other things,

He tells how *Gronigen* is taken in,  
By the braue conduct of illustrious *Vere*.

and this piece of 'newest newes' points to the surrender of Groningen on 15 July 1594.

Since Davies makes it quite clear that he is referring to recent events, it follows almost inevitably that the Epigrams were written in 1594 and the date 'Ao 1594 in November' of the Rawlinson MS. may therefore be more exact than Dr. Simpson allows. The publication date of the first of the Middleburgh octavos is less easy to establish, but it seems likely, in view of the topical nature of the Epigrams, that they were brought to press soon after composition. 1595 is therefore a fairly safe guess.

J. M. NOSWORTHY

#### MARVELL AND MONTAGUE: ANOTHER SOURCE FOR 'THE DEFINITION OF LOVE'

A RECENT study of Marvell reminds us that 'he had probably through Lovelace some contact with many who had once formed the court of Henrietta Maria, with its preciosity and its raffish Catholicism. . .'.<sup>1</sup> One such link is suggested by Walter Montague's *Shepherd's Paradise* which I should like to add to the sources proposed by Pierre Legouis and R. L. Martin<sup>2</sup> for 'The Definition of Love'. Although this play was not published until 1659 and Alfred Harbage has found no record of any performances after that by the Queen and her ladies of honour in January

<sup>1</sup> Ruth Wallerstein, *Studies in Seventeenth Century Poetic* (Madison, 1950), p. 185.

<sup>2</sup> *R.E.S.*, O.S. xxiii (1947), 63-65; N.S. ii (1951), 374. The second suggestion appeared earlier in Douglas Bush's *English Literature in the Earlier Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 1945), pp. 162-3.

1632/3,<sup>1</sup> there must have been considerable demand in the thirties and forties for manuscripts of the drama that precipitated both the vogue for d'Urfé and the misfortunes of William Prynne. It would seem as if a young contributor to *Musa Cantabrigiensis* during the Catholic revival at the University, himself rescued from Jesuits by his father sometime late in 1639,<sup>2</sup> would be especially interested in the work of an older Cantabrigian entrenched at Somerset House who in 1635 had announced his conversion in a much discussed letter to his father, the Earl of Manchester.<sup>3</sup>

'The Definition of Love' indicates such an interest, at least in Martiro, the most platonic character in Montague's *Paradise*. Almost as confusing to the heroine as to Suckling's Apollo, Martiro has nothing to do with the tangled plot, yet his disquisitions on impossibility in love are the true focus of the play. So desperate as a lover that he would not change his wishes for any hope, he is unmoved by the argument of Bellesa, the Queen, that love should have 'an object levell to it selfe'. He is very sure that she would not seem to incline to any love but only receive it 'as a parallel' (C4<sup>v</sup>),<sup>4</sup> and at her command he prepares a sorry poetical effort to prove 'the reason of loving impossibilities'. Although he reads this twice before Bellesa, her favoured Morament, and the happy 'secure' lovers, Camena and Melidoro (G7<sup>v</sup>-8), Bellesa gives herself to Morament, and Martiro is forced to conclude in another poem that 'If any thing impossible be now/ In love, tis that your vertue may allow.' After the first reading of the first poem, he explains to the scoffing Melidoro that he has presented the reason, not the passion, of impossible love and that even this is too high for Melidoro's 'limitted Horizon' (G8). After the second he again refuses to admit that his love, 'not extracted out of will, but Fate', had ever 'so low a thought as hope' (G8<sup>v</sup>). But before reading the second poem and just after he learns of Bellesa's intentions, Melidoro and Camena rally with him more successfully:

*Melidoro.* What speculation are you in *Martiro*? Were you not thinking what starrs were in love with one another? and how by their tacite influence they entertain themselves! You never think so low as the moon, because she hath been said to have been enjoyed.

*Cam.* They say *Martiro* there is a Sagittary above, that answers to our cupid here, and that the starrs which we see shoot, are shot by him to inflame which of them he wil will [*sic*] aime at. Pray *Martiro*, do not the melancholy loving starrs delight much in the musick of the Spheares?

<sup>1</sup> *Caroline Drama* (New York, 1936), p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> H. M. Margoliouth, 'Andrew Marvell: Some Biographical Points', *M.L.R.*, xvii (1922), 355.

<sup>3</sup> *Cal. State Papers, Dom.* (1635), 497. The letter was published with replies from Manchester and Falkland in 1641.

<sup>4</sup> I quote from the issue of the 1659 quarto that was misdated 1629.

*Mar.* No: I was thinking lower, how the globe of the earth might be made flat, and so the Antipodes laid levell with us. In my minde I have seene as strange a thing as this come to passe.

*Melidoro.* There is hope *Martiro*, you may fall to thinke of possibilityes; this is somewhat towards it to meditate so low as earth.

*Mar.* I do begin already to think all things so possible on earth; as I thinke you two may be happy in enjoying one another.

*Mel.* This is an exposition of flatting of the Globe. Wee that were your Antipodes are now level with you.

*Cam.* Rest your thoughts then here *Martiro*, on the Centre of the earth, and you will finde more ease in that stability then you have don in the swift motion of the orbes above, where they have been till now. (L1<sup>v</sup>-L2).

Not so manly as Massinger's *Camiola* or even Sidney's *Philoclea*, *Martiro* is the only one of the three who could have given Marvell his famous image of the Planisphere. *Martiro* is also the only one who considers his despair 'magnanimous'. As he expands and then collapses an impossible love, he accepts his fate. He fails, of course, to polarize it; by his own admission he cannot show us any of the passion fused in the ironic 'Definition'. This inability may have been Marvell's challenge.

ELEANOR WITHINGTON

#### DRYDEN AND THE *ENCOMIUM MUSICAE*

*Alexander's Feast* has received a just measure of praise, both as a fine example of the irregular 'Pindarick', and as a brilliant exercise in cantata libretto.<sup>1</sup> It was written, however, to celebrate 'the Power of Musique'; and it has a significant place in the Renaissance tradition of the *encomium musicae*.

Harmony, says Plato, having motions which are related to the revolutions of our own souls, has been given by the Muses as an ally against inward discord in the soul, to bring it into concord with itself; 'rhythm and harmony sink deep into the recesses of the soul and take the strongest hold there, bringing that grace of body and mind which is only to be found in one who is brought up in the right way'.<sup>2</sup> This affinity between 'heav'nly Harmony' and the human soul underlies the ancient belief in the therapeutic properties of music. It was with these long-attested properties in mind, that the musical humanists of the Renaissance attempted to revive the music of the ancients for the benefit of the individual and the community, and elaborated the

<sup>1</sup> G. N. Shuster, *The English Ode from Milton to Keats* (New York, 1940), pp. 139-45; E. Brennecke, 'Dryden's Odes and Draghi's Music', *P.M.L.A.* xlix (1934), 33-35.

<sup>2</sup> *Timaeus*, 47D; *Republic*, iii. 401D.

doctrine of musical 'effect'.<sup>1</sup> The *vers et musique mesurés* of Baif's *Académie* (1570), for example, was designed 'in the manner of the ancients' 'non de laisser les espritz des écoutans où nous les prenons, ainsi que la plus part des homes d'aujourduy maintiennent, mais, selon que le senz de la lettre le requiert, de faire les troys effectz . . . qui sont serrer, desserrer, acoyer les espritz passionnez et affectionez de la chanson avecques la lettre bien composée, bien chantée, bien écoutée'.<sup>2</sup> Belief in musical 'effect' was widespread in the seventeenth century. In the work of Mersenne, and particularly in *Harmonie Universelle* (1636-7), it is elaborated and raised to a philosophical level;<sup>3</sup> Burton gives a loaded little chapter to it;<sup>4</sup> and there are countless simple examples of the doctrine in the poets.<sup>5</sup> Interest was not confined to the philosophers; nor were notions of musical 'effect' always of the vague, popular sort exemplified in lyric poetry. Cowley discusses 'effect' with a wealth of illustration and reference;<sup>6</sup> and Jeremy Collier embodies it in an essay 'Of Musick' published just before the composition of *Alexander's Feast*:

The Force of Musick is more wonderful than the Conveyance. How strangely does it awaken the Mind? It infuses an unexpected Vigour, makes the Impression agreeable and sprightly, and seems to furnish a new Capacity, as well as a new Opportunity of Satisfaction. It Raises and Falls, and Counter-changes the Passions at an unaccountable Rate. It Charms and Transports, Ruffles and Becalms, and Governs with an almost arbitrary Authority. . . . The Antients were much our Superiors in this Mystery. They knew how to Arm a Sound better, and to put more Force and Conquest in it that we understood.<sup>7</sup>

Even readers of the voluminous and erudite Mersenne ranged from his friend and correspondent Hobbes and the scientist Robert Boyle<sup>8</sup> to the

<sup>1</sup> See Frances A. Yates, *The French Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, Warburg Institute (London, 1947), pp. 36-76; D. P. Walker, 'Musical Humanism in the 16th and Early 17th Centuries', *Musical Review*, vol. ii (1941), pp. i ff., iii ff., 220 ff., 288 ff., and vol. iii (1942), pp. 55 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Letter from Baif to Charles IX, quoted by Miss Yates, op. cit., p. 323.

<sup>3</sup> See H. Ludwig, *Marin Mersenne und seine Musiklehre* (Halle and Berlin, 1935); R. Lenoble, *Mersenne ou la naissance du mécanisme* (Paris, 1943), pp. 522-31.

<sup>4</sup> *Anatomy of Melancholy*, II. ii. 6. 3.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. Jonson, 'The Muscicall strife' (*The Under-wood*, iii); Herrick, 'To Musick', 'To Musique, to becalme his Fever'; Milton, 'At a Solemn Musick', and *Comus*, lines 561-2; Dryden, *A Song for St. Cecilia's Day*; and other odes commissioned for the same celebrations from 1683 onwards (see W. H. Husk, *An Account of the Musical Celebrations on St. Cecilia's Day*, London, 1857).

<sup>6</sup> *Davideis*, i, note 32.

<sup>7</sup> *Essays upon Several Moral Subjects* (London, 1697), ii. I quote from the third edition, 1698, pp. 20-21. The essay has been quoted more than once as a probable source for *Alexander's Feast*. Cf. John Wallis, *A Letter . . . Concerning the Strange Effects Reported of Music*, quoted in *R.E.S.*, N.S., ii (1951), 133.

<sup>8</sup> Lenoble, op. cit., pp. 596-7, et passim; L. T. More, *The Life and Works of The Honourable Robert Boyle* (New York, 1944), p. 65.



amateur musician Pepys, who went 'to Duck Lane, to look out for Marianne, in French, a man that has wrote well of musique, but it is not to be had, but I have given order for its being sent for over. . .'.<sup>1</sup>

Medieval and Renaissance contributors to the *encomium musicae* almost invariably cite the story of Timotheus and Alexander as an *exemplum* of musical 'effect'.<sup>2</sup> 'That *Timotheus* by *Musick* enflamed and appeased *Alexander* to what degrees he pleased', says Cowley, 'is well known to all men conversant among Authors.'<sup>3</sup> The *exemplum*, however, is generally one item in a catalogue of instances; and it is quoted briefly, casually, and sometimes crudely. Timotheus, says Spenser's 'E.K.', for example, so excited Alexander 'that streight way rysing from the table in great rage, he caused himselfe to be armed. . . . And immediately whenas the Musitian chaunged his stroke . . . he was so furr from warring, that he sat as styl, as if he had bene in matters of counsell'.<sup>4</sup> Case, in a *Praise of Musick* (1586) which Dryden probably knew,<sup>5</sup> is little more explicit. Collier's account differs only in being briskly humorous: 'One time, when *Alexander* was at Dinner, this Man play'd him a *Phrygian Air*: The Prince immediately rises, snatches up his Lance . . . And the Retreat was no sooner Sounded by the Change of the Harmony, but his Arms were Grounded, and his Fire extinct; and he sat down as orderly as if he had come from one of *Aristotle's Lectures*.'<sup>6</sup> Burton's characteristic account is simply that Timotheus 'caused his master to skip up and down, and leave his dinner'.

Dryden's greatly elaborated version complicates the emotional reactions of Alexander, heightens the dramatic quality of the story, and, as an *encomium musicae*, fully illustrates the doctrine of 'effect'. The musical humanists emphasized three *ethea* of *vers et musique mesurés*: music expands and exults the soul, contracts it, and tranquillizes it.<sup>7</sup> Dryden subtly illustrates this triple function in Timotheus' manipulation of Alexander, filling out the stock anecdote to cover a wide range of 'effect'. The song begins 'from *Jove*'; and exalts Alexander's soul by flattery, as the whole company takes up the theme with the cry, 'A present Deity'. This exuberant note is broadened in the ensuing praise of Bacchus; and, excited by

<sup>1</sup> *Diary*, 3 April 1668. Pepys was about this time at work on 'a better theory of musique than hath yet been abroad; and I think verily I shall do it' (*ibid.*, 20 March 1667/8).

<sup>2</sup> See F. A. Yates, *op. cit.*, pp. 38, 41; correspondence from S. F. Johnson and James Hutton on *The Shepherdes Calender*, T.L.S., 30 March, 11 May, and 7 September 1951. F. Harder quotes a German example in 'Eine deutsche Anregung zu Drydens *Alexander's Feast*', *Engische Studien*, lxi (1926-7), 177-82.

<sup>3</sup> *Davideis*, i, note 32.

<sup>4</sup> *The Shepherdes Calender*, gloss to 'October'.

<sup>5</sup> Dryden may have owed his humorous reference to Vulcan as the 'skinker' of the gods in his version of *Iliad* i (line 803, in *Fables*, 1700) to Case. See *O.E.D.*, 'skinker'.

<sup>6</sup> *Op. cit.*, third edition (1698), ii. 21-22.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Baif, quoted above; and see F. A. Yates, *op. cit.*, p. 45, note 3.

flattery and wine, Alexander grows in wild vanity. Timotheus then 'contracts' his soul by recalling Darius' bloody and pitiable death; and, by a natural transition, moves from pathos to the 'Lydian Measures' of love. Tranquillized, Alexander turns amorously to Thais. Then Timotheus brings off a sudden *tour de force*: he fires Alexander once more with a summons to 'Revenge', in which violent imagery, and broken, excited anapaestic recitative hurl the action forward to its dramatic climax in the burning of the palace. Not less impressive than the range of musical 'effect' is the metrical and tonal variety which sustains it. In the preface to *Sylvae* (1685) Dryden had emphasized the need for subtlety and art in shifting the cadence in 'Pindaricks';<sup>1</sup> and his metrical art here answers to the skill with which he moves from one emotional 'effect' to another.

Dryden extends the *exemplum* of Timotheus to illustrate the three *ethea* of music, by drawing selectively on the Alexander story. (i) Plutarch tells how Thais, dallying with Alexander, and drinking so freely that she at last fell to extravagant talk, incited him to allow her to set fire to Xerxes' palace in revenge for the destruction of Athens, her native city. Encouraged by the applause of his court, Alexander rose; and with a *garland on his head* and a torch in his hand, he led the rout to their work of burning.<sup>2</sup> Dryden elaborates this anecdote to make a setting for his poem and a frame for his 'effects'. Thus Timotheus sings to Alexander as he sits with Thais and his peers, 'Their Brows with Roses and with Myrtles bound' (l. 7). The song includes not only the battle theme of the Timotheus *exemplum*, but the praise of wine and love; and the summons to revenge and the burning of the palace make a logical climax to the poem. The story of Thais provides the setting, the wild climax (in which music, and not the courtesan, provokes physical action), and a number of musical 'effects'. (ii) A further 'effect' is introduced in stanza ii, where Timotheus exalts Alexander's soul by the allusion to Jove and Olympia, and by the unanimous acclaim of 'A present Deity'. This is a clever adaptation of the legend of Alexander's divinity—Alexander's mother Olympias declared that she was with child by a dragon; and Alexander himself used the story to good effect. To this Dryden returns three years later in the *Fables*.<sup>3</sup> (iii) Finally, Timotheus contracts Alexander's soul with pity, by recalling the death of Darius. Here Dryden turns again to Plutarch: 'They found Darius lying in a Chariot, all over wounded with Darts, just at the point of Death. When Alexander

<sup>1</sup> *Essays of John Dryden*, ed. W. P. Ker (Oxford, 1926), i. 268.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Alexander*, xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> 'To My Honour'd Kinsman, John Driden of Chesterton', lines 160-3. Cf. 'The Cock and the Fox' (*Fables*), lines 659-60:

Ye Princes rais'd by Poets to the Gods,  
And Alexander'd up in lying Odes. . . .

came up to them, he was sensibly touched at the unfortunate End of so great a Man, and pulling off his own Coat, threw it upon the Body to cover it.<sup>1</sup>

Thus a stock *exemplum*, interpreted imaginatively in the light of the traditional doctrine of 'effect', is elaborated into a complete lyrical drama, in which music, poetry, fluctuating emotion, and violent action are brilliantly synthesized in praise of music.

JAMES KINSLEY

### A PARALLEL BETWEEN LORD BYRON AND FRAY LUIS DE LEÓN

AN interesting coincidence between a poem of Byron and the Neoplatonist element in two or three poems of Fray Luis de León is to be found in one of the *Hebrew Melodies*—'When coldness wraps this suffering clay'. It might be possible to speak of 'influence', or 'reminiscence', since Byron had visited Spain (1809) before the date of publication of *Hebrew Melodies* (1815) and had learned some Spanish; editions of Luis de León, or anthologies containing his poems, were current (e.g. the Valencia, 1761 and 1785, and Madrid, 1790, and Quintana's anthology, 1807), though the sixth volume, containing the poems, of Merino's edition did not appear till 1816. Nevertheless, one may be sure that Luis de León would be presented at that date as one of the chief of their poets by any literary Spaniard in answer to a foreign poet's inquiries; León had had a great vogue in the eighteenth century.

Most of the *Hebrew Melodies* deal with specifically Old Testament themes, but not invariably: the first, 'She walks in beauty', is a conspicuous example to the contrary; nothing therefore can be inferred from the fact that 'When coldness wraps' does not. What is far more interesting than the possibility of 'influence', is to observe the difference between León's treatment and Byron's, once the latter has got hold of the subject-matter, from whatever source. The two poets reveal in a most illuminating way the alteration of poetic emphasis between the Renaissance and Romanticism. To make this clear, it is necessary to print the English poem and place beside it the relevant passages from León.

When coldness wraps this suffering clay,  
Ah! whither strays the immortal mind?  
It cannot die, it cannot stay,  
But leaves its darken'd dust behind.

<sup>1</sup> Life of Alexander, xliii. Quoted from *Plutarch's Lives*. Translated (London, 1727), vi. 72-73.

## NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

Then, unembodied, doth it trace  
 By steps each planet's heavenly way?  
 Or fill at once the realms of space,  
 A thing of eyes, that all survey?

Eternal, boundless, undecay'd,  
 A thought unseen, but seeing all,  
 All, all in earth or skies display'd,  
 Shall it survey, shall it recall:  
 Each fainter trace that memory holds  
 So darkly of departed years,  
 In one broad glance the soul beholds,  
 And all, that was, at once appears.

Before Creation peopled earth,  
 Its eye shall roll through chaos back;  
 And where the furthest heaven had birth,  
 The spirit trace its rising track.  
 And where the future mars or makes,  
 Its glance dilate o'er all to be,  
 While sun is quench'd or system breaks,  
 Fix'd in its own eternity.

Above or Love, Hope, Hate, or Fear,  
 It lives all passionless and pure:  
 An age shall fleet like earthly year;  
 Its years as moments shall endure.  
 Away, away, without a wing,  
 O'er all, through all, its thought shall fly,  
 A nameless and eternal thing,  
 Forgetting what it was to die.

(1)

El aire se serena  
 Y viste de hermosura y luz no usada,  
 Salinas, cuando suena  
 La música extremada  
 Por vuestra sabia mano gobernada.

A cuyo son divino  
 El alma, que en olvido está sumida,  
 Torna a cobrar el tino  
 Y memoria perdida  
 De su origen primera esclarecida.

Y como se conoce,  
En suerte y pensamientos se mejora;  
El oro desconoce  
Que el vulgo vil adora,  
• La belleza caduca engañadora.

Traspasa el aire todo  
Hasta llegar a la más alta esfera,  
Y oye allí otro modo  
De no perecedera  
Música, que es la fuente y la primera.

Y como está compuesta  
De números concordes, luego envía  
Consonante respuesta,  
Y entrambas a porfía  
Mezclan una dulcísima armonía.

Aquí el alma navega  
Por un mar de dulzura, y, finalmente,  
En él así se anega,  
Que ningún accidente  
Extraño o peregrino oye o siente.

¡ Oh desmayo dichoso!  
¡ Oh muerte que das vida! ¡ Oh dulce olvido!  
¡ Durase en tu reposo,  
Sin ser restituído  
Jamás a aqueste bajo y vil sentido!

A este bien os llamo,  
Gloria del apolíneo sacro coro,  
Amigos a quien amo  
Sobre todo tesoro,  
Que todo lo visible es triste lloro.

¡ Oh!, suene de contino,  
Salinas, vuestro son en mis oídos,  
Por quien al bien divino  
Despiertan los sentidos,  
Quedando a lo demás adormecidos.

(2)

¿ Cuándo será que pueda  
Libre de esta prisión volar al cielo,

## NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS

Felipe, y en la rueda  
Que huye más del suelo  
Contemplar la verdad pura sin duelo?

Allí, a mi vida junto,  
En luz resplandeciente convertido,  
Veré distinto y junto  
Lo que es y lo que ha sido,  
Y su principio propio y escondido.

Entonces veré cómo  
La soberana mano echó el cimiento  
Tan a nivel y plomo,  
Do estable y firme asiento  
Posee el pesadísimo elemento.

There follows a long series of different natural causes that will be made known; the poem ends:

Veré sin movimiento  
En la más alta esfera las moradas  
Del gozo y del contento,  
De oro y luz labradas,  
De espíritus dichosos habitadas.

## (3)

Cuando contemplo el cielo  
De innumerables luces adornado,  
Y miro hacia el suelo  
De noche rodeado,  
En sueño y en olvido sepultado;

El amor y la pena  
Despiertan en mi pecho un ansia ardiente,  
Despiden larga vena  
Los ojos hechos fuente,  
Olarte, y digo al fin con voz doliente:

Morada de grandeza,  
Templo de claridad y hermosura,  
El alma que a tu alteza  
Nació, ¿qué desventura  
La tiene en esta cárcel, baja, oscura?

There follows here also a long series of considerations similar to those in the last poem, but alluding more specifically to the planetary scale which, however, is not absent from that poem, either. The conclusion of the present poem is:



¿Quién es el que esto mira,  
Y precia la bajeza de la tierra,  
Y no gime y suspira  
Y rompe lo que encierra  
El alma, y de estos bienes la destierra?

Aquí vive el contento,  
Aquí reina la paz; aquí asentado  
En rico y alto asiento,  
Está el amor sagrado,  
De glorias y deleites rodeado.

Inmensa hermosura  
Aquí se muestra toda, y resplandece  
Clarísima luz pura,  
Que jamás anochece;  
Eterna primavera aquí florece.

¡ Oh campos verdaderos!  
¡ Oh prados con verdad frescos y amenos!  
¡ Riquísimos mineros!  
¡ Oh deleitosos senos!  
¡ Repuestos valles, de mil bienes llenos!

Byron's theme is (a) the planetary ascent of the disembodied human spirit at death, presented as an alternative to another possibility; (b) in the second and third verses the poet dilates on the ability of the pure spirit to contemplate past, present, and future, with a slight stress on astronomical movements (chaos, furthest heaven, track, sun, system). León's theme is (a) the planetary ascent of ( $\alpha$ ) a spirit momentarily loosed from the flesh by music, ( $\beta$ ) for the longer duration initiated by death; (b) knowledge in such a state of ( $\alpha$ ) natural causes, ( $\beta$ ) past, present, and future. (León also has a well-known poem on the planetary *descent* of the soul at birth.) In the third poem, we have (b) as an object of spiritual contemplation in this life aroused by the natural contemplation of the star-lit sky. Each of the three Spanish poems contains a strophe or strophes the content of which may be, from a certain distance, compared with the fourth verse of Byron's poem.

The similarities reveal themselves in the above statement; the possibility of León as a source is of anecdotal interest only. The differences are significant of two moods that illustrate contrasting phases of our culture.

León, a man who grew up in the early sixteenth century, takes rather seriously the Ptolemaic planetary construction of the universe (which indeed, mentally, he harmonized with the Hebrew scriptures, in one of the unquoted strophes of *Cuando será que pueda*, as did Boethius before him).

This, despite the fact that he taught all his life in a university where Copernicus was taught from 1561 on. This clear definition of a universe is put to poetic use in the objective and rational picture with which León wishes to present the intuition of a life of the spirit beyond the confines of the flesh. Byron uses it only to suggest and immediately turns to an alternative much more abstract (*or fill at once, &c.*) though if we chop logic over his use of words, we may object to a spirit filling space. Accepting it as a legitimate analogical statement, Byron's concept is in fact more in keeping with dogmatic theology than the Neoplatonist. The essential Romantic gain, however, is in the power to conceive and express sudden, instantaneous change, and to be free from presenting a process temporally. The distance between León and Byron is not, of course, that between the conceptions of body and spirit; sixteenth-century Spanish culture contained profounder appreciations of the spiritual dimension than, probably, Byron's; at least it had the intellectual apparatus for doing so which Romanticism nowhere possessed. It is in the imagination and in expression that Romanticism gains greater suppleness. The thought of the last two lines of Byron's first stanza might have occurred to any poet of suitable tendencies of the seventeenth century, whether Spanish or English; the degree of expressiveness we can certainly find in Pope; the two combined, it seems to me, only in the Romantics, and possibly, only in the English Romantics.

Byron's two middle stanzas contain the corresponding material to the serial consideration of the planets in León's various passages. What strikes one at once, having already disposed of the Ptolemaic interest in each poet, is the interest of Byron in individual personality. In León (principally seen in the concluding strophes) it is beatitude that is emphasized; in the planetary survey it is knowledge that fascinates. For Byron it is power and the individual memory which has interest for him in speculations on immortality. The first two lines of the second stanza reveal the concern for spiritual power, both in relation to self (the first line), and in relation to others (the second). The human spirit is not in fact traditionally regarded as 'boundless', though the word is not precise enough to hold an inquisition on; its suggestions are certainly of limitlessness in the sense of infinity, not of finite spiritual substance; from this point of view, too, we might prefer 'immortal' to 'eternal'. We are certainly rather far from the Hebrew mentality, however close to a Hebrew melody. We may justly speak here of Romantic inflation, and, with regard to the notion of first recapturing the personal memory before 'all that was', of Romantic self-absorption. What strikes one most in León is the absence of stress on the individual personality: the mention of friends, the awareness of a society of the blessed, of the possibility of beatitude for all (*¿Quien es el que esto*

*mira?*  
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*mira?*). With respect to Byron's fourth stanza there is no formal statement to contradict all this, it is simply that the attention is entirely on the individual subject. Moreover, the loss of contact with revealed religion (since a specifically New Testament reference was excluded in the nature of the series of which this poem was a member) leaves Byron with an image of the future life bereft of the dimension of the divine. No vision of God, whether in a deistic or theistic framework is offered. We have a reminiscence of the Psalms in the statement of the incomparability of time as between this world and the next, but there is nothing of the Judaic fiery presence of Yahweh, none of the devout Jew's love of God. Not only is it a different type of human soul who is enjoying life everlasting; it is a different type of life everlasting that he is enjoying. There is a slight illogicality in his forgetting death when his enhanced state reveals all things to him, an illogicality that it is probably more understanding to insist on as significant than to overlook as a poeticism for the future deathlessness of the spirit. Just as the society of spirits has been lost, so has the real nature of the individual spirit: without forgetting the Old Testament setting to which the poet was confined, this is not the expectation of a Redeemer we find in Job, nor the consciousness of human nature of the antique and medieval world—whether hopeless as with Greece and Rome, or confident in a living God as with Israel and the Christian tradition, still fully present, of course, in León. The 'nameless and eternal thing' is still alone; he has neither fellows nor God. It is his thought that shall permeate all things rather than universal knowledge (the temptation of the Renaissance) which shall make itself present before him. Namelessness certainly stresses solitude and self-sufficiency. One wonders how far it should be taken to indicate an undercurrent of surreptitious pantheism.

The Romantic poet has gained in speed and in simplicity of poetic apparatus; the Romantic imagination works more swiftly and more easily, though achieving a more difficult succession of fantasies. The Romantic universe, also, has passed beyond the archaic fancies of the antique, and entered the phase of the unknowable finite (apt to slip into the partially knowable infinite) that we recognize as our own. The human spirit is a more solitary thing, bereft alike of fellowship and of the intense awareness of a personal God. On this side there is surely loss. 'All passionless and pure' the spirit of Byron may be in its projection of itself to a higher plane, but it is a thing still of Byronic bitterness and pride: already we hear the groan of Baudelaire, the moan of Verlaine. Already we can catch sight of the great desert of politics with which poetry has replaced Heaven; which even Rubén Darío, who came nearest to restoring to sanity the Byron-Baudelaire-Verlaine unbalance, was unable to avoid.

EDWARD SARMIENTO

## REVIEWS

**Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile. Volume I. The Thorkelin Transcripts of *Beowulf* in Facsimile.** Edited by KEMP MALONE. Pp. 32+240 folio. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press; London: Allen & Unwin, 1952. £15. 15s. net.

The magnificent idea of this series, designed eventually to cover the whole of the primary material in English and Anglo-Latin manuscripts for the medieval period, was conceived as a result of fears for the safety of manuscripts suggested by the last world war. It promises to bring to fulfilment the noble plan of Grundtvig which did not get beyond his *Prospectus* of 1830. As announced in a *Prospectus* in 1951, the plan was conceived in Scandinavia and is to be carried out under the editorship of Mr. Bertram Colgrave (Editor-in-chief), Professor Kemp Malone, and Professor Knud Schibbye, thus representing Great Britain, the United States of America, and Denmark respectively, under the patronage of Sir Winston Churchill. The three editors are distinguished Anglists, and the names of the proposed editors of the individual volumes announced in the *Prospectus* are a guarantee of the soundest scholarship. The learned public was invited to subscribe to the whole series, since the prices are to be increased by 25 per cent. later. Titles announced include the Leningrad Bede, the Paris Psalter, the Peterborough Chronicle, King Alfred's versions of the Cura Pastoralis and of Orosius, the Anglo-Saxon laws of MS. Corpus Christi College Cambridge 383, the *Beowulf* MS. and the Moore MS. of Bede. Immense gratitude is due to Messrs. Rosenkilde & Bagger of Copenhagen for undertaking so vast and exacting a publication: and Professor Malone's presentation of the Thorkelin transcripts in this, the first volume of the series, is masterly and admirable in almost every way.

It is not made very clear why the Thorkelin transcripts should have been chosen to open the venture rather than the *Beowulf* MS. itself, since photographs of the original are vastly more needed than of its eighteenth-century copies; though it might be argued that Zupitza's *Autotypes*, made seventy years ago and long since out of print, may still be consulted, whereas there has never been available a facsimile of Thorkelin. While the method of providing introductions giving full descriptions of the physical features of the manuscripts is clearly not applicable to the Thorkelin copies, no explanation is offered for the choice of photostats for this volume alone as against the photographs proposed for the whole series. A comparison of the Zupitza *Autotypes* with these photostats leaves little doubt that there has been loss rather than gain here: and the specimen photographed page of the *Beowulf* MS. supplied to illustrate the *Prospectus* of the series emphatically confirms this impression. One wonders whether perchance the publishers, being situated so conveniently near the Royal Library in Copenhagen, may not have already made the photostats of the Thorkelin copies at a time before the obviously sound editorial policy of using photographs for the series had been determined.

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Professor Malone very rightly replaces much of the description of the physical features of his texts—which is properly to be provided for the remainder of the series—by an examination of the relationships between MS. Cotton Vitellius A xv and the transcripts, and his treatment is generally most satisfying. But for the full appreciation of certain details and significances of the Thorkelin transcripts in the study of the *Beowulf* text, photographs would have been somewhat more effective.

The choice of Professor Malone as editor of this volume was obviously the right one: for he had already laid *Beowulf* scholarship under deep obligation by his special articles on Thorkelin and *Beowulf* during the last dozen years. It is a pity, however, that his introduction is so arranged that certain significant and interesting details must still be sought in the editor's separate articles.<sup>1</sup> Apart from this, his introduction is all that could be desired. Notably the editor has demonstrated convincingly how a systematic study of the methods and types of errors in the two Thorkelin transcripts may enable the student to determine just what kinds of error are characteristic of each, as well as to note the revisions and second thoughts which Thorkelin seems to have inserted in his old age when his knowledge and experience were much increased. Thus often it becomes possible through Professor Malone's material to establish exactly what must have been the true readings of the *Beowulf* MS. as they could have been seen at a time little less than sixty years after the fire of 1731, when the deterioration and damage of which this burning was the first cause (though not the occasion) had proceeded but a little way. Till Professor Malone brought this amazing diligence to our aid, all editors of *Beowulf* have perforce depended on Zupitza for their knowledge of the Thorkelin transcripts: nor did Zupitza make any serious attempt at getting textual results from the kind of comparative study of the two Thorkelin copies in which the editor of this volume is the pioneer. Moreover, this study of Thorkelin is based on prolonged first-hand study of the transcripts themselves, and does not depend entirely on these photostats.

Because of the cost of production and of the fact that only fifty copies of the complete volume were made available to the British public, reviewers were only supplied with a 'press copy', containing the general preface to the whole series, Professor Malone's introduction, and 'eight specimen pages'. Without discussing the wisdom or propriety of this proceeding, one may fairly inquire why all eight pages should have been taken from the A version of Thorkelin, that made to his order by a copyist, while no specimen of Thorkelin's own effort is included. Even a limited comparison of the two versions is thus rendered impossible. Again, it appears that all fifty copies were at once taken up: yet there must be at least three times that number of persons ready and anxious to possess this volume which now becomes indispensable to every advanced student of *Beowulf*. There has been, it may well seem, far too much caution on the part of the Danish publishers in printing so small a number of copies as to entail the limiting of British scholars and students to fifty copies.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Studia Neophilologica*, xiv (1941), *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, xciii (1949), and *P.M.L.A.*, lxiv (1949).

The printing and the production of the photostats have been extremely well done; and the only misprint noticed is *show* for *show* on page 6 of the Introduction.

C. L. WRENN

**A Study of the Place-Names in Lawman's *Brut*.** By ROLAND BLENNER-HASSETT. Pp. 77 (Stanford University Publications; University Series, Language and Literature, Vol. IX, No. 1). Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press; London: Cumberlege, 1950. \$1.00; 8s. net.

**An Index of Names in *Pearl*, *Purity*, *Patience*, and *Gawain*.** By COOLIDGE OTIS CHAPMAN. Pp. x+66 (Cornell Studies, Vol. XXXVIII). Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press; London: Cumberlege, 1951. 16s. net.

**Middle English Sea Terms. I. The Ship's Hull.** By BERTIL SANDAHL. Pp. 235 (Essays and Studies on English Language and Literature, Vol. VIII). Upsala: Lundequist; Copenhagen: Munksgaard, 1951. 14s. net.

**Athelston: A Middle English Romance.** Edited by A. McI. TROUNCE. Pp. vi+157 (Early English Text Society, o.s., No. 224). London: Cumberlege, 1951 (for 1946). 12s. 6d. net.

These four titles form an interesting cross-section of Middle English studies.

Professor Blenner-Hassett has already shown his great interest in the *Brut*, in articles in *M.L.N.* and elsewhere, and now we have his survey of the place-names there; most useful, but almost too full and detailed, especially in dealing with continental names. Bibliographically the work is not impeccable; some of the editions cited are out of date, e.g. those of Collingwood Bruce's *Roman Wall*, Ekwall's *D.E.P.N.*, and Förster's *Ae. Lesebuch* (5th edn., 1949); there are unnecessary double references to Lawman and Madden, Lot and Nennius; and the late Sir George MacDonald's name is consistently misspelt. On individual names, one might question the statement (under *Albion*) that after the founding of Dalriada the name Albion was restricted to Scotland; what should surely have been said is that after the founding of the kingdom of Dalriada the use of the name Albion was restricted to that kingdom, and later, to the Gaelic-speaking part of Scotland (see Watson, *C.P.N.S.*, p. 11). *Deira* can hardly be 'to the south of the R. Tees and corresponding roughly to the present county of Durham'; and on *Deira*, see Peter Hunter Blair, 'The Boundary between Bernicia and Deira', in *Archaeologia Aeliana*, 4th series, vol. xxvii (1949). On *Kalatre*, Watson (*C.P.N.S.*, pp. 105-6) is very dubious about Skene's identification. On *Leoneis*, East and West Lothian are mixed up, and the identification of *Lothian* with *Lyonnesse* should still be considered doubtful.

Professor Chapman may now be regarded as a veteran student of the *Pearl* poet, so that one examines any study by him with more than ordinary interest. The title of this one is too modest, and perhaps misleading, for it is virtually a concordance to the four poems. Under *Apocalyppez*, for instance, are listed all the poet's quotations from that source. It is therefore unfortunate that the blemishes should be such as leap to the eye. The examples which follow are all from *Sir Gawain*. (1) The places at the high table in Arthur's hall are given wrongly.



Guinevere being placed on Arthur's right, and Bishop Bawdewyn 'seated at end of the high table'; the correct placing is given in the E.E.T.S. edition of 1940. (2) Bercilak is now generally amended to Bertilak. (3) *pe tulk pat pe trammes of tresoun per* [Troy] *twrozt* Professor Chapman equates with Aeneas, not, as more usual, with Antenor. (4) The use of *lace* for *girdle*, though not incorrect, is misleading. (5) And did not Gawain's guide carry Gawain's helmet, in addition to his spear and shield? See *Gaw.* 2143.

Mr. Sandahl's first volume of Middle English sea terms is a welcome addition to the ever-growing library of word-lists, and shows him to be in the true Scandinavian tradition of Ekwall, Björkman, Arngart, and Löfvenberg. In utilizing material—most of it previously untapped—dating from 1290 to 1500, he deals with no fewer than 290 words, of which 103 are not recorded in the *O.E.D.*, and 16 are found in a sense not recorded there. Of the remaining words, 85 antedate their earliest appearances in *O.E.D.*, some by as much as 500 years. It is a complex and fascinating list, showing an extraordinarily varied and full vocabulary derived from many sources. There are a few errors, none of importance, and the only omissions noted on a fairly careful reading were *clouthail* (1356), *hawse* (c. 1436), and *keel* (= ship) (1421), for all of which see the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, vol. iii (1925).

One turned hopefully to *hurrock*, but no fresh example is recorded of this puzzling word; Mr. Sandahl gives only the three well-known instances, from *Patience* (l. 185), *Cleanness* (l. 419), and from Capgrave's *Chronicle*. His interpretation, 'stern compartment of a boat', fits all the passages, but not all satisfactorily. In *Patience*, Jonah, fleeing from the wrath of God, had gone 'into the bottom of the boat, and lay on a board, huddled by the hurrock', and there slept soundly. As the only passenger he would doubtless be reasonably comfortable in the stern cabin, even at the height of a gale; but why 'by the hurrock'? *Cleanness*, describing the Ark, mentions in succession mast, 'myke', bowline, cable, capstan, hurrock, and sail—all apparently features of a normal ship which the Ark did not possess; while Capgrave tells of a boy who in a sea-fight saved his life because he 'hid him in the horrok' (though one would imagine that the stern cabin would speedily be searched for possible survivors). Perhaps Mr. Sandahl will consider the possibility that the word is connected with *thurrock* 'bilge', a meaning which fits well enough at least two of the passages. The boy might remain undiscovered in the malodorous bilge; Jonah was so exhausted that he slept even by the *sentina* or sewer, a resting-place that soon, ironically, he was to exchange for another that 'stank like the devil' (*Patience*, l. 274).

Mr. Trounce's *Athelston* is described as a 'revised reissue' of the edition originally published by the Philological Society in 1933, but a comparison shows the alterations to be very few and of little importance. The opportunity might have been taken to modify the notes on ll. 336 and 340, and to alter the description of Wimund of Tavistock being 'accused of treason' in 1102, when, as a reviewer pointed out, Wimund was deprived for simony. One might add that Ekwall's *Early London Personal Names* (Lund, 1947) cited examples of the name *Wimund* occurring into the fourteenth century in the wool trade, while the bibliography should have A. S. C. Ross's article on 'The Middle English Poem on the Names

of a Hare', in *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Literary and Historical Section*, vol. iii, Part vi (1935), pp. 347-77, and George Taylor's 'Notes on Athelston' in *Leeds Studies in English*, iii (1934) and iv (1935).

A. MACDONALD

**The English Text of the *Ancrene Riwe*.** Edited from Cotton MS. Nero A xiv by MABEL DAY. Pp. xxiv + 196. London: Cumberlege, for the Early English Text Society, 1952 (for 1946). 25s. net.

To Dr. Mabel Day has fallen the onerous and somewhat thankless task of publishing, from a transcript made by the late J. A. Herbert, the Nero text of the *Riwe*: thankless, in that this is the one text with which students are already familiar, and doubly onerous because of the principles of editing on which the E.E.T.S. has decided for this series. Few will question the wisdom of publishing each manuscript separately, and our knowledge of Middle English phonology and morphology will be enriched when this great task is finished. Nor can we complain today that the Society has clearly instructed its editors that in the *Riwe* texts there should be as little editing as possible, so that we may enjoy an almost uninterrupted view through the text of the manuscript. Such a policy, however, is much easier to formulate than to carry out.

In the most necessary feature of their work, as so commissioned, Herbert and Dr. Day are almost beyond criticism: there is in this text an attention to minute detail and a degree of accuracy in transliteration which is altogether admirable. Morton's edition, made in an age when knowledge of early Middle English linguistics was for lack of texts rudimentary, must still be allowed to be of high quality: but many of us will be shocked to remember how much we have relied on it as we collate it with Dr. Day's. There is hardly a page which does not reveal where Morton has transcribed wrongly, or, a graver crime, emended silently. In Dr. Day's text and notes there are few readings with which to quarrel. When she comments, 5.31, that her *religiune* has its final *e* erased, she is at fault: the scribe wrote *religiunt* (the kind of error which the copying of a mixed English and Latin text commonly produces), and it is the *t* which has been erased. Her notes to 191.9, 191.12, and 192.2 seem to require qualification, since the interlineations given there seem to be in a hand of the seventeenth or eighteenth century. To her note on *euer*, 188.25, it might be added that the *er* abbreviation is possibly a later addition in different ink; and in her note to 6.2-4, to *riwe*, *dole*, *schelchine* should also be added *leafdi*. She has very properly distinguished between the scribe's colon, which she renders as :, and his question-mark, which she gives in a modern form: but two such question-marks, 4.36 and 5.3, she has wrongly transcribed as colons. Having decided to transcribe *ihū* as *iesu*, she has allowed at least one *ihesu*, 4.25, to escape her vigilance.

These are all minor points, and they are the measure of the care with which the work has been done. But even with such editors as Dr. Day at its command, the Society may be criticized for some of its decisions. To attempt to reproduce medieval punctuation in a printed text today is folly: it places great difficulties in the way of all but those practised in the reading of manuscripts, who will, if they

wish to examine such minutiae, have recourse to the manuscript or to a photostat. An examination of this edition only confirms the impression that we still understand very little about medieval practice in this matter, and that most medieval scribes alternated between caprice and over-scrupulousness. Similarly, it imposes a heavy burden on editor and reader alike to decide to reproduce the word-division of a medieval manuscript, and then to use only the single uniform spacing of modern print. We find *is imaked*, 2.19, when the manuscript has identical spaces before and after the prefix; *after euchones manere*, 2.31, when there is a space between *euch* and *ones*, smaller, however, than that after *after* and *ones*; *ne bihat*, 3.13, *wel wule*, 3.14, *o luue*, *o wil*, 5.19 and 22, when in each case the scribe writes these as one word. Here again, scholars who wish to examine the vexed problem of the degree of separability allowed in the pronunciation of prefixed and compounded words will be ill advised to rely on any printed text; yet they are the only readers for whose benefit this decision can have been taken, a surprising one after Grattan's magnificent failure with *The Owl and the Nightingale*.

But least comprehensible is that, having agreed to attempt to reproduce the punctuation and word-division of the manuscript, the Society should then have adhered to its recent, regrettable policy of expanding abbreviations silently. An exception, happily, has been made for *þ*, *þte*, and *ð*, so that those interested in the survival of gender in early Middle English now know, for example, that Morton errs and that the definite article before *sacrament*, 30.6, is not *þe* but *þat* or *þet*, as might be expected, especially in view of *hwon þe preost halt hit up*, 7.20, where *hit* plainly derives its gender from *sanctissimum*; and similarly, Dr. Day gives us *þ leor*, 27.32, instead of Morton's *þe*. But how often does the scribe write *puruh* in full, as he does at 99.18, how often merely *þ*, as at 1.11? *puruh* seems to have been used more often than *purh*, but this does occur, as at 4.26. How many readers, consulting this text, will assume that the many Latin citations were all written out in full for the benefit of well-learned anchoresses? If they could know, to take one instance, that Dr. Day's *apud deum & patrem hec est visitare pupillos & orphanos*, 4. 12, is the scribe's *a.d.&.p.R.e.v.p.&.or.*, some of them, perhaps, would pause and ponder. It is much to be hoped that the Society will reconsider this feature of its policy before it comes to publish the later versions of the *Rivale*, in which a higher proportion of more complex abbreviations is found, and in the editing of which the principles here applied may be most misleading.

To disagree on these principles is not, however, to fail to esteem the Society for its enterprise in planning the *Ancrene Rivale* series: linguists are not the only medievalists to be deeply indebted to Dr. Day for this edition, and to await impatiently the volumes which are to succeed it.

ERIC COLLEDGE

**Linguistic Studies in some Elizabethan Writings. I. An Inquiry into Aspects of the Language of Thomas Deloney.** By TORSTEN DAHL. Pp. 215 (Acta Jutlandica. Aarskrift for Aarhus Universitet, XXIII, 2). Aarhus: Universitetsforlaget; Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1951. Kr. 15.

This investigation of certain features of Deloney's language was undertaken during the German occupation of Denmark, when access to the early editions themselves was impossible. It is therefore, of necessity, based on the texts as printed in F. O. Mann's standard edition.

The 215 pages of this study constitute, we are told, Part I only of the fuller investigation planned. After two introductory chapters on 'Deloney the Elizabethan' and 'Stylistic Features', Professor Dahl selects some aspects which have particularly interested him, notably the phenomena of number (Chapters III and IV) and the use and evolution of 'shall' and 'will', 'should' and 'would' (Chapters VIII and IX). The pronouns (Chapters V and VI) provide the rest of the material. The present book breaks off abruptly with two short paragraphs of Addenda and a 'token' Index—doubtless the classification of forms under headings is held to render any specific feature easy enough to find. Any general conclusions to which Professor Dahl is led will presumably find their place in Part II.

Of Deloney's Poems, Ballads, and topical pieces contemporary editions survive from the 1580s. As regards the prose, however, a purist might say that for 'language of Thomas Deloney' we should substitute 'language of the late Jacobean and Caroline editions which provided the copy-texts for Mann's edition'. The early issues of Deloney's prose tales seem to have been destroyed by their very popularity. Mann's copy-texts range from 1623 (*Thomas of Reading*) to 1648 (*The Gentle Craft*, Part I). A text considerably closer to the days when Deloney was speaking, hearing, and reading his own language—a *Thomas of Reading* of 1612 which Mann was unable to trace—is now, however, in the British Museum. While there seem to be good grounds for believing that the Jacobean and Caroline editions offer us the same basic brand of English, we know that Deloney's text ultimately 'evolved' with changing taste, so that in 1775 Lacke of Newberie was thus offered to the public: 'Mr. Winchcombe lived many years, an ornament to society and a great promoter of the clothing branch' (see Mann, p. 506). For the most part there is nothing to be done about the chronological gap between surviving editions and original date. The exigencies of rhyme and metre make the contemporary editions of the poems of only limited use as controls. The risk of accumulating small mutations and the habits of different printing-houses are, however, if our concern is with the *minutiae* of linguistic form, factors to be kept in mind. One small example must suffice. Mann, following his copy of *Thomas of Reading* (1623), prints in a well-known comic episode (p. 238, l. 31) 'because our husbands be not so kind'.<sup>1</sup> If we are studying the inflexion of the verb, we shall be impelled to add 'be' to the appropriate category of 'be' forms. But the 1612 edition prints (sig. E.r. V<sup>o</sup>) 'our husbands are'.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The 1632 edition (B.M. copy) gives 'our husband be . . .', losing the -s of 'husbands' by an obvious printer's error.

<sup>2</sup> A few lines higher in the same context (l. 24) Mann prints 'good hempe spun cloath';

Professor Dahl aligns himself, naturally, in the tradition of Jespersen. He warns us that his approach is that of the 'philologist', not of the 'linguist in the modern sense', and that his aim is descriptive. He is, perhaps, too continuously deprecating as to his equipment and procedure. While it is just and scholarly to indicate limitations and allow for the possibility of error, the repetition of sentences like 'I have gone through Deloney's pages with some care, but not being good at statistics, I hesitate to make statements which could be called exact within the meaning of the word' may induce a scepticism unfair to the zeal of the collector and the industry of the organizer. This study, while admittedly not descriptively or statistically exhaustive, does assemble a substantial body of reference, and its examples of linguistic form and usage should be useful, not only to the philologist but to the editor and textual critic of Tudor and Stuart works. The author's discussion of sensitiveness to rhythm as an explanation of variant inflexional forms and his defence of Deloney as a poet are of considerable general interest.

G. D. WILLCOCK

**Vergebung und Gnade bei Shakespeare.** By ERNST THEODOR SEHRT. Pp. 260. Stuttgart: K. F. Koehler Verlag, 1952. DM. 18.

Books on Shakespeare's 'ideas' are apt either to be arbitrarily subjective or to submerge Shakespeare in the commonplaces of his age. Dr. Sehrt, however, has made a modest but positive contribution to the understanding of the plays by taking a single central idea, remaining throughout in contact with the text, and showing that Shakespeare manifests a distinctive attitude. Briefly, his thesis is that almost alone among his contemporaries—in drama only Heywood offers anything comparable—Shakespeare consistently expresses a notion of forgiveness based uncompromisingly on the New Testament. He is cautious about drawing any conclusions as to Shakespeare's own religious views, but he suggests that the tragic vision of the central plays points to a Christian solution, and that in Shakespeare's mature drama, as in Christianity, the duty of forgiveness is connected with the sense of the failure and weakness common to all men. The first chapter sets this attitude in contrast with that which Dr. Sehrt regards as characteristic of sixteenth-century humanism. This chapter, though the empiricist English reader may be dismayed by the author's announcement that it is written from the 'begrifflich-geistesgeschichtliche Gesichtspunkt', is full of interest. It traces the contamination of the pure New Testament idea of forgiveness by classical ideas of clemency (as the expression of the heroic virtue of the prince, not of the sense of shared human imperfection) and equity (mitigating but not superseding strict justice). It is shown that such conceptions are dominant in most sixteenth-century treatments of mercy (e.g. in Elyot). The subsequent examination of Shakespeare against this background cannot be summarized here, but it is clear to me that Dr. Sehrt makes out his case for the distinctiveness of Shakespeare's likewise B.M. 1632 edition. The 1612 edition has (undoubtedly correctly) 'home spun'. No point of 'grammar' is involved here, but the occurrence of these variants in a short passage gives point to the observations above.

treatment. He contrasts the early plays, in which the notion of mercy is not fully integrated into the structure of the play—Portia preaches mercy, but it does not govern the development of the action—with the plays after 1600, notably *Measure for Measure* which is studied at great length. The 'last plays', naturally, also afford important material, and the deviations of *Cymbeline* from its sources in the direction of stress on forgiveness are well discussed.

Misprints are relatively few and unimportant, though it is a pity that Miss Welsford appears throughout as 'Welshford'. The date of Middleton's birth is given as '1570?' instead of 1580; '1598?' for Greene's *James IV* confuses the conjectural date of composition with the known date of the first surviving edition. To call *Sir Thomas More* 'pseudo-Shakespearean' is absurd: no one has ever ascribed the whole play to him, and if Dr. Sehrt intends to hint a rejection of the 'three pages', he shows less than his usual judgement. But these are trifles. In accuracy, care, and knowledge of the literature of the subject, the book compares favourably with many works published in this country and respectfully received.

J. C. MAXWELL

**Character and Society in Shakespeare.** By ARTHUR SEWELL. Pp. viii + 149. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951. 12s. 6d. net.

This is not a long book, but any review ought to stress at the start that it is one of the most considerable books on Shakespeare that has appeared for some time. It is lucid, reflective, wise, full of things both well said and penetrating, condensed but not cramped, suggestive without any haphazardness of comment. Every reader will have his own marginal qualifications to make. Few will fail to be impressed by the richness of the writer's response time and time again, by the sense of balance as well as the sense of genuine excitement that pervades the writing.

Professor Sewell begins by clearing away some of the confusions in the 'character' approach to the plays—and (by implication, at least) some of the equal confusions that follow when the 'character' approach is rejected out of hand, and completely, for something based on 'imagery' or 'theme' or both. Shakespeare, it is admitted, does not 'dart himself forth' into all his characters. (In real life, too, it is pointed out, only rarely does a person get *all* its *self* into even its most expressive words or acts.) Tragic character, particularly, is not a psychological but a moral entity: the focus, so to speak, of a wide number of human possibilities as far as the character's given situation-in-the-play will allow these to find expression. Very often the dramatist is thinking in terms of 'actable part' rather than in terms of 'real-life human being'. Some characters are seen from the outside (Iago and Falstaff). Only the very greatest (the tragic heroes, particularly) have real inwardness. It is these latter, only, that Shakespeare uses as living organs of his own growing awareness, his exploration of a moral situation which the play, in its progress, increasingly reveals to him as well as to us. A good point is made that 'character' is not only what men do, but also what happens to them. Professor Sewell has a sure grasp of the nature of dramatic character here. A character can be a concentration of the dramatist's 'vision'. We are interested in a



character's 'address to the world'; that implies, too, the world he considers himself to be addressing, a world indeed which is often called into being by this very address itself. Professor Sewell raises a number of important general issues in this first chapter. On none of them does he fail to stimulate re-vision of the questions involved. One's only misgivings are that on none of them (the book, of course, is conceived as a series of essays rather than as an exhaustive treatise)—on none of them, maybe, does he dwell quite long enough. One is left, constantly, wanting more to be said, both by way of exemplification and discussion. This is not a purely negative criticism: it is Professor Sewell's own fuller treatment one would like.

Chapter ii briefly considers 'Character and Social Order' with particular reference to *The Merchant of Venice* and the historical plays. The method, again, is not to give exhaustive treatment, but rather reflective judgements on such aspects of the plays as will serve to 'place' them qualitatively in the body of Shakespeare's work as a whole. The book then proceeds to a consideration of the great tragedies, the Roman plays, and the Romances.

The main value of Professor Sewell's essays is that the *contour* of Shakespeare's achievement in drama is well brought out—the relative size and quality of the separate plays. One is so impressed by the sureness of the sense of proportion here that one is not inclined to press too far differences over points of detailed interpretation. *King Lear*, for example, is restored to its position of central importance and is finely used as a touchstone in assessing the comparative importance of the plays before it and after it. *Antony and Cleopatra* and *Coriolanus* are seen with equal clarity of definition—as a fading of the Shakespeare 'vision':

... What we miss in these plays, as we compare them with the other tragedies, is that quality of humility, which is notable in *King Lear* and which, I believe, Shakespeare sought often but never quite achieved in *Macbeth* and *Othello*.

That, it seems to me, is right. It is the sort of remark which is characteristic of the book as a whole: perceptive, deeply considered, wise, individual, suggestive—and yet crying out for further exposition.

JOHN F. DANBY

**Bonduca, by John Fletcher.** (Prepared by WALTER WILSON GREG and checked by the General Editor.) Pp. xx + 111 (The Malone Society Reprint). Oxford: Malone Society, 1951. No price given.

The manuscript of Fletcher's exciting tragedy of *Bonduca* was acquired by the British Museum in 1903 and was unknown to Dyce and the earlier editors. It has been widely described and quoted, but has not previously been made available in full. It is best known for its explanation that two and a half scenes are missing because the prompt-book was lost and 'this hath bene transcrib'd from the fowle papers of the Authors wch were found'. For the rest it is a legible private transcript in the hand of Edward Knight,<sup>1</sup> made perhaps not long after

<sup>1</sup> The scribe was familiarly known to a generation of scholars as 'Jhon' from a name written in *The Honest Mans Fortune*, but his true identity, inferred by the Editor, has been conclusively demonstrated from the comparison of his handwriting with a signature in a

1625, of a text also quite well presented in the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio of 1647. The Editor notes that there are some dozen passages in which the two texts differ more than formally, but his discussion of these is restrained. He has perhaps been concerned to avoid encroaching on the problems of the play which will confront the editor of a critical text, and is content to observe that whilst some variants may be due to obscurities in Knight's copy others suggest some revision in the prompt copy which underlies the Folio.

The transcript follows the conservative practice of the Malone Society, and the only persistent difficulties are concerned with the differentiation between majuscule and minuscule forms of some letters and with the distinction between commas and full stops. In the former case the Editor has printed what he thinks the scribe meant, but in the latter he has acknowledged defeat and represented both punctuation marks by a full stop with a space before it. This provides a text unexpectedly comfortable to read, but less instructive than might have been wished. It is remarkable that 'if anything the tailed form appears to be treated as the more emphatic and is generally used at the end of a speech, whereas the mere dot tends to mark lighter pauses within the sentence' (p. vii). This is concealed by the Procrustean treatment which renders both alike. The habit is found also in Knight's manuscript of *The Honest Mans Fortune*. In neither manuscript is it a consistent rule, and often there is no graphic ambiguity about the mark: Knight has simply used one mark where we expect the other. Material for further study of his habits would have been welcome in a type-facsimile.

The introduction is austere but stimulating. The preservation until Knight's use of them of an author's foul papers 'encourages us to believe that they were sometimes at any rate preserved among the company's archives against just such a contingency as here arose' (p. xi), with a footnote admitting that there is no evidence beyond *a priori* probability that it was in the company's archives that they were preserved. There would be little harm in this observation, as modified, if it were not becoming common practice to argue from this single starting-point that a company would usually preserve authors' foul papers, reversing the older view that it would probably destroy them to prevent theft. One cannot rely much on the nuances of Knight's literary style to dispute the new generalization, but his addition of the unnecessary phrase 'w<sup>ch</sup> were found' surely suggests surprise at an abnormality rather than fulfilment of a reasonable expectation. And if these foul papers were an unexpected windfall it might more likely come from Fletcher's effects after his sudden death in 1625 than from anything in the nature of company archives. What evidence this manuscript affords seems to me to tell against the theory that foul papers were often preserved by the company and not in favour of it.

The transcript of the manuscript is supplemented by a reprint from the Folio of the scenes for which Knight's copy was missing, and illustrated by two pages of slightly reduced facsimiles. With much before it to do, the reviviscence of the Society will be widely welcomed.

A. K. MCILWRAITH

document at Dulwich College, and 'Jhon' must go, not unlamented, to join the ghosts. See J. Gerritsen, *The Honest Mans Fortune* (Groningen, 1952), pp. xxi-xxii.

**Ben Jonson.** Edited by C. H. HERFORD, PERCY and EVELYN SIMPSON. Vol. XI. **Commentary. Jonson's Literary Record. Supplementary Notes. Index.** Pp. viii+668. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952. 42s. net.

At length, fifty years since the foundation-stone was laid and twenty-seven since the august structure began to rise above the ground, the keystone of the great Palladian arch has been well and truly placed, and the long day's task is done. To congratulate the surviving editors would be impertinent, but we may at least tender them our grateful thanks and stand a moment in seemly reverence to the memory of the one who has passed before.

The volume is inevitably rather an *omnium gatherum*. The first half contains the commentary on the poems and prose works. Next, under the heading 'Jonson's Literary Record' and filling 265 pages, comes a collection of all documents, commendations, and criticisms of importance from Henslowe to Swinburne that have not already been cited in the course of the edition.<sup>1</sup> Then come supplementary notes on the 'Life' gathering up such details as have come to light during the quarter of a century since the first volume appeared in 1925. The most interesting is Professor Sisson's discovery that in 1623 Jonson was living and perhaps teaching at Gresham College, which suggests the exciting possibility that the *Discoveries* and the *English Grammar* may be collections made for his lectures.<sup>2</sup> Short supplementary notes on the Masques and on Portraits of Jonson follow; then considerable additions to 'Books in Jonson's Library', the most important being a copy of Chapman's *Homer* of 1616 with notes containing severe strictures on the translator's scholarship. A list of 'Musical Settings of Jonson's Songs, 1608-1750', and a list of 'Errors and Changes in the Text' precede the copious Index that concludes the volume.

For this repast much thanks.

W. W. GREG

**The Anatomy of Robert Burton's England.** By WILLIAM R. MUELLER. Pp. x+121 (University of California Publications: English Studies 2). Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press; Cambridge: University Press, 1952. \$2.00.

This is a doctorate thesis, carefully revised, presented to Harvard University in 1942. It is concise and lucid. Dr. Mueller points out that before Sir William Osler called attention to the serious nature of the *Anatomy* the volume had been

<sup>1</sup> A footnote on p. 308 remarks that the additions to *The Spanish Tragedy* printed in 1602 are probably not those written by Jonson in 1601-2, since these 'would not be likely to be printed . . . before they were "staled to the stage"'. But if, as now seems probable, the printed additions are based on a surreptitiously obtained 'report', the argument loses force.

<sup>2</sup> Typographical imagination has not always been our editors' strongest point. In this section the several notes are inadequately distinguished, with the result that on p. 582 it looks as though 'Benjamin Jonson of Gresham College' formed part of the Trumbull correspondence. Again, I find difficulty in following the arrangement on p. 608 of 'Music Settings'. The editors appear to be trying to combine a classification by composers with one by subjects.

regarded more or less as an encyclopaedia of miscellaneous and erudite knowledge. Even now readers may too easily be inclined to regard Burton only as a 'fantastic old great man', and his book as a rag-bag of quotations. Under sections such as 'Burton's Heritage', 'The State', and 'The Church' Dr. Mueller emphasizes the fact that the *Anatomy* is much more than this. Apart from the old theme of 'love melancholy' Burton had, or at least thought he had, serious grounds for a pessimistic outlook. Before the first edition of 1621 there had been several books on melancholy. The buoyant Elizabethan age was over and England was going through rapid economic and social changes. Of this Burton was aware. His famous address to the reader places him, as Dr. Mueller points out, in the English tradition of melancholy. This tradition (which includes the eighteenth-century complaint usually called 'the spleen') was often in part the result of mild ill health; but it is Dr. Mueller's purpose to show that Burton's outlook was much wider than that of previous writers on the subject. Burton does not neglect to stress the chief causes of melancholy in individuals, such as bad diet, improper evacuation, excessive or defective sleep, and perturbations of mind. These are always with us, and no reader of the *Anatomy* will have missed Burton's reflections on them. What he is more likely to have overlooked are the wider causes which Burton grasped. Dr. Mueller writes 'one would have to look far in English economic history to find a more unstable period than that of the early Stuarts'. Jacobean England witnessed a collapse of foreign trade, a devastating inflation and other troubles with which we are now only too familiar. Burton tried to construct a Utopia, which if not practical, he attempted to make so. In short, instead of regarding the *Anatomy* as a book into which those with a taste for out-of-the-way learning can dip, Dr. Mueller shows that the reader will find that it was intended for practical application. It may be read as a treatise on economics, however much else it contains. Charles Lamb was a somewhat misleading admirer of Burton. Among other causes of melancholy Burton found the upstart man who was able to make money without contributing much of value to the community one of them. There was nothing new in the rise of this class; but such people were more significant in the social scale than they had been. Dr. Mueller devotes several pages to Burton's attitude to the Churches. He disliked Roman Catholics and Dissenters equally, less on theological grounds than because they made for disunity. An ideal nation which would escape melancholy was in need of a wise and virtuous clergy as well as of wise and virtuous statesmen. Burton naturally saw the first in the Church of England. Dr. Mueller in his concluding chapter admits that he has left much of the *Anatomy* untouched; but he has done well to draw attention to its less familiar aspects. His contention is that the book went beyond the English Renaissance tradition of medico-religious treatises on melancholy, and that Burton added a new dimension to the tradition by suggesting that national problems—those of State and Church—directly accounted for much of the melancholy of English citizens. The many authorities cited are given in the notes at the end of Dr. Mueller's book. His general references are to Shillito's edition of the *Anatomy*.

HUGH MACDONALD

**John Donne: Essays in Divinity.** Edited by EVELYN M. SIMPSON. Pp. xxx+138. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952. 15s. net.

Readers of Boswell may recall Dr. Johnson's observation on St. Cuthbert's Day 1776 that in order to edit Walton's *Lives* well it would be necessary to collect all the editions: 'By the way of adapting the book to the taste of the present age, they have, in a late edition, left out a vision which he relates Dr. Donne had, but it should be restored; and there should be a critical catalogue given of the works of the different persons whose lives were written by Walton, and therefore their works must be carefully read by the editor.' There are few modern writers who have deserved better of Donne than Mrs. Simpson. Her study of his prose works is now in its second edition, and the present reproduction of the scarce duodecimo *Essayes in Divinity*, published in 1651/2, omitted by Alford in 1839, and modernized in spelling and punctuation by Dr. Augustus Jessopp in 1855, confers, owing to the scarcity of the little work and the merits of the introduction and notes, a real benefit on English studies. She is not chatting in her arm-chair, as E. F. Benson pictures Gosse doing, but if less facile she inspires far greater confidence in her critical faculty.

Despite a latter-day cultus which may strike some observers as a little 'precious', if not artificial, Donne is not a writer for everyone. An octogenarian archbishop who admitted that he was reading Cicero *De Senectute* with far greater appreciation than he had done in the sixth form knew something of the reason, and certainly the readers of these *Essayes* need a background of knowledge and a temperament enriched, if not acquired, by experience in order that they may fully 'serve to inform' them 'in many Holy Curiosities'. Given something of that endowment and capacity students can promise themselves a real feast of enjoyment without danger of disappointment, even if honesty compels them to admit that they have had hitherto little more than a casual acquaintance with some of the sources industriously collected by Miss Ramsay in her dissertation on 'Les Doctrines médiévales chez Donne'. The work is so quaint in its 'conceits' that it grows upon the reader, and he lays it aside with real regret that it is not longer, extending beyond Genesis and Exodus, even if some things be indeed 'too Cabalistic and Pythagorick for a vulgar Christian' in one of Donne's own characteristic phrases. It is, as Mrs. Simpson says, 'the first of the definitely theological works, the precursor of the *Sermons* and *Devotions*'. It may not be quite easy to assign a precise date; but there is one page which besides an admirable series of observations upon miracles includes a reference to the 'three afflictions which God in a diligent and exquisite revenge presented to *David's* choice'. Mrs. Simpson with her usual succinctness notes that '*exquisite* is here used in the sense "carefully chosen"'. Is it fanciful to suggest an echo of Sir Tony Belch's demand for an 'exquisite reason'? And that can roughly be dated.

CLAUDE JENKINS

**Milton and the Literature of Travel.** By ROBERT RALSTON CAWLEY. Pp. vii+158 (Princeton Series in English, No. 32). Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1951. \$3.00; 20s. net.

Almost every student of Milton's sources grinds a favourite axe, and Professor Cawley is no exception. His thesis, following the manner of that great exponent of source studies, Professor L. Lowes, deals with *Milton and the Literature of Travel* and aims to estimate the relative importance of travel-writers in their influence on Milton, the extent of that influence as a whole, and the use of travellers' material in the later poetry. At the same time, he distinguishes three periods in the poet's geographical interests—early allegiance to the Bible and 'classics', absorption of facts from wide reading and the experience of his public career, and an eclectic use of these materials in poetic composition. Unfortunately, Professor Cawley's devotion to Heylyn's *Cosmographie* unbalances his book and confuses much of his careful scholarship. Because the first two chapters deal with Heylyn, and in connexion alone with Milton's two great geographical catalogues, the reader must wait until the fifth chapter before assessing the validity of Professor Cawley's claim for Heylyn's influence on Milton above that of Purchas, Sandys, Fuller, or Hexam's *Mercator*. This arrangement involves the repetition here, sometimes two or three times, of points argued in the first chapters. Meanwhile, the case for Heylyn as source for Milton's catalogues is by no means as decisive as Professor Cawley would persuade us. References range across some 250 pages of a text which the blind poet could not possibly have seen, and are drawn from two editions (1652 and 1670) though Professor Cawley believes that Milton's amanuensis probably read to him from the 1657 edition. The blindness itself is forgotten as he argues a literary debt from names written large in the text and from maps, and even defends frequent recourse to orthographical evidence. Dealing with other travel-writers in the fifth chapter, Professor Cawley carefully observes his own *caveat* that 'It is dangerous to reason that Milton was following any one book just from the fact that an historical geography describing the same regions should happen to group together many of the same names.' Yet in practice he exempts Heylyn's work because the *Cosmographie* embodies a philosophical outlook found also in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. But what, for example, of Raleigh's *Historie of the World*, which likewise illustrates the transience of empires, and from which Milton almost certainly remembered a few details? This work, unlike Heylyn's, appears in Milton's *Commonplace Book* as one he had read.

Where Professor Cawley excels, however, is in his analysis of Milton's treatment of geographical detail, illustrating how 'he no more hesitates to use old geography than he hesitated to use old astronomy after he felt sure Ptolemy was wrong', and how the reports of contemporary travellers revitalize traditional literary concepts in the major poems. Even more successful is the analysis of Milton's use of geographical data in *A Brief History of Moscovia*, for here the list of sources is incontrovertible as Milton himself appended it to his essay. Yet again over-enthusiasm mars scholarship with a far-fetched analogy at the end of the chapter between the *choice* of Willoughby among many volunteers for



the North-east project (described in one of Milton's sources for the Russian history), and the offer of Satan in the absence of any other to undertake the perilous search for Earth in *Paradise Lost*.

Moreover, Professor Cawley regards *A Brief History of Moscovia* as a 'stepping-stone' between Milton's use of 'a sort of general reference' to travel materials in the minor poems and a 'more specific kind in his epic'. This blank assertion immediately recalls, surely, in defence of the early Milton, the close analogy between accurate accounts of heathen gods in the Nativity Ode and in *Paradise Lost*, and that highly specific detail which reappears in *Comus* from Marco Polo's account of the desert of Lop found in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (xi. 216)—

And airy tongues, that syllable mens names  
On Sands, and Shoars, and desert Wildernesses.

The study of Milton's developing interest in contemporary geographical knowledge would have gained by a really thorough examination of the minor poems in that context.

On the whole, the importance to Milton of the Bible, of seventeenth-century modes of thought, and of poetic inspiration is largely ignored, and we are given a picture of the poet, diligently picking his way through 'desert authors', selecting a name here and a fact there for felicitous combinations of sound and sense. Gone is the mighty Milton of John Phillips's description, lying abed composing *Paradise Lost* in the strength of inspiration and memory.

Many of the abundant footnotes (themselves proof of Professor Cawley's extreme care for accurate detail and reference) could have been included in the text. The bibliography is most useful as a key both to seventeenth-century travel literature and to modern investigations of its influence on Milton, and the book itself should be much appreciated by the general student of Milton's sources.

A. I. CARLISLE

**The Occasional Verse of Richard Steele.** Edited by RAE BLANCHARD.

Pp. xxiv + 137. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952. 21s. net.

This is not the only time verse productions have been brought together for reasons other than their merit. Care, labour, and research have been devoted to this book because the author distinguished himself in another field. Miss Blanchard claims 'very little' for any of Steele's poems; and nobody is likely to read his verse for pleasure or the hope of inspiration. Though songs from Steele's plays passed into many musical collections, though his prologues and epilogues, commending themselves to the age, appeared among examples of their kind celebrated for wit, Dr. Johnson assigned no place to him among the poets. Nevertheless, John Nichols's interest in Steele led him to include examples of his verse in his *Select Collection of Poems*, 1780-2; and two or three of his pieces have found their way into modern anthologies. When all has been said, however, let Steele be commended for entertaining no illusions about his verse.

If Steele had no talent as a versifier his *Tatler* and *Spectator* papers show that he possessed a genuine, even discriminating, interest in poetry. He published

new poems, including those of Swift and Pope, quoted from and commented upon others. His well-known *Poetical Miscellanies*, 1714, conspicuously illustrates his love of verse. Only two pieces in that volume are signed by him; but Miss Blanchard is confident that some of the unsigned poems included in the collection came from his pen. Nevertheless, after industrious search in every direction, the poems which she can safely attribute to him, many of a few lines only, number less than fifty. The longest of these, *The Procession*, was his first poem to appear in print. Written upon the occasion of Queen Mary's funeral in 1695, it afforded a closely accurate description of the cortège. Animated as it is with fervour and patriotic feeling, it moves as heavily as the scene, and, in common with nearly all Steele's verse, betrays lack of ear for metre. It may be asked why he printed the poem as the last piece in his 1714 miscellany collection? Was this an expedient, finding himself short of copy, to fill out the last sheet, leaving one blank leaf?

For over twenty years Miss Blanchard has devoted herself to the editing of Steele's writings. This is the fourth volume she has seen through the press since 1932. Its predecessors, *The Christian Hero*, *The Correspondence*, *Tracts and Pamphlets*, won for her an unquestioned distinction for patient research and scholarly workmanship. Some may be tempted to ask whether Steele's verse justifies the time and labour spent upon it. To this question there can be no answer but in the affirmative. If his poems are of small account Miss Blanchard's introduction and her elaborate notes, constituting together about half the volume, are a contribution to our knowledge of Steele—both in prose and verse, of his relationship with contemporaries, and of the contents of eighteenth-century miscellanies.

Of particular interest are Miss Blanchard's tentative attributions to Steele. In each instance she presents her argument with persuasiveness and restraint. If her description of the 'Anacreontique to Delia' as a 'lively bit' is hardly apt, she makes out a good case for Steele's authorship. The poem was first printed in Gildon's *Examen Miscellaneum*, 1702. 'On his Mistress. By a Parson' bears a resemblance to the 'Anacreontique' and may well have been composed by Steele. Of more significance is Miss Blanchard's claim that the 'Prologue Designed for Mr. D[ur]fey's last Play' 1713, hitherto assigned by editors to Pope, should be transferred to Steele. Though, perhaps, she fails to carry entire assent, the case is skilfully argued for her conviction that 'tradition and custom to the contrary, it should be placed with Steele's writings'.

Miss Blanchard invites 'corrections and additions'. So thorough and accurate has been her work that nothing of significance has been noted. Should not, however, the initial letter of '*Her*', last line on page 7, be lower case? There are two slight slips in transcription in the fourth line from the bottom on page 13. Further, the note on page 89 does not make it clear to the reader whether both poems (or one only) from *The Muses Mercury* appear in the reprints. Save, however, in response to an invitation from so accurate an editor there is a want of grace in calling attention to minute trifles.

HAROLD WILLIAMS

**Pope and the Heroic Tradition: A Critical Study of his *Iliad*.** By DOUGLAS KNIGHT. Pp. x+123 (Yale Studies in English, vol. 117). New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951; London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1952. \$3.00; 20s. net.

This book is written in a woolly jargon, hard to understand and tiresome to read. Its aim is to show that the formal eighteenth-century qualities of Pope's version of Homer's *Iliad* are not the inevitable, and partly disadvantageous, limitations imposed by the poet's personality and environment, but are deliberately and nicely calculated to produce on Pope's readers a Heroic (and in this sense Homeric) impression, by taking account of intervening epic writers, particularly Virgil and Milton. The argument is mainly based on Pope's prefaces and notes, supported by some extracts from his version and the Loeb edition, and by a good deal of quotation from modern critics.

Some of what Mr. Knight says is worth notice. It is good to draw our attention to Pope's annotations, which are not so well known as his Preface: they are good criticism and increase our appreciation of Homer. It is also good to have emphasized the continuity of epic tradition from Milton to Pope—though I think Mr. Knight overestimates it. And it is fair enough to apply, *mutatis mutandis*, to Pope's *Iliad* what critics have said about other epics.

The fundamental weakness of the book, apart from its unreadability, is that the author has not done the necessary research to find out what in fact, behind the façade of prefaces and notes, were Pope's mental processes, line by line, as he composed his version: what he thought each word (or its Latin gloss) meant, what ancient and modern associations it had for him, and so on. For this purpose it is not enough to adapt the dicta of critics on other poems. It is not enough to examine Pope's notes, which he wrote where he was sure of his ground. It is not enough to compare his version with the Loeb, which is certainly not what Homer looked like to him. It can only be done by working through his text (and any supplementary material, such as correspondence) with the books that he used—when these are identified. These will include not only the editions, probably Graeco-Latin, from which he worked, but also the dictionaries, Latin as well as Greek, which he used, his textbooks on classical antiquities, the work of his predecessors, and so on. That these sources are in part known, Mr. Knight himself indicates; but his use of them is perfunctory. For example, on p. 111 he indicates Barnes's 1711 edition of Homer, but does not follow the matter up. Similarly his Appendixes suggest that Pope neither did nor could profit from his predecessors. But this is not true. Whatever may be true of Book I, to which Mr. Knight confines his examination, it is easy elsewhere to find Pope verbally borrowing from Chapman; and sometimes (e.g. at XI. 14, 59, 73) he borrows Chapman's interpretations, or, by using the same sources, twists the meaning as Chapman does (research might decide which is true); nay more, in Book VI, at the famous exchange of Glaucus' armour, Pope follows an interpretation of Chapman which even Chapman, in his margin, admitted to be strained and contrary to his source. Of course elsewhere Pope often corrects Chapman; again, research might account for this inconsistency.

The work involved in this research would be great, and the intimate know-

ledge of Greek, Latin, and English literature that it postulates may hardly be found in one man. But only with this equipment and by these methods could one discover what Pope was doing, in fact as well as in theory, when he translated the *Iliad*.

H. C. FAY

**Hogarth's Peregrination.** Edited with an Introduction by CHARLES MITCHELL. Pp. xxxii+53. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952. 15s. net.

The account of the impromptu jaunt taken by 'Messieurs Tothall, Scott, Hogarth, Thornhill & Forrest' in May 1732, will not be known to many. The extraordinarily lively description of the five days as given in this volume 'gives the text of the manuscript for the first time virtually as it was written', and in addition we have Gostling's account 'Imitated in Hudibrasticks' (if not very good ones) 'with liberty of some Additions'. This will be a welcome recruit to bookshelves, not only of the library but of the home, since it contains not only the script, but admirable reproductions of the drawings made by Hogarth and Scott, the map of north Kent provided by Thornhill, together with some other pictures by means of which Mr. Mitchell supports one of his theses.

For there are two. The first, the easier to sustain, is that the written account is largely a spoof of the solemn travel-book of the day, with its notices of the duller antiquities, of tombstone recordings, of improbable tales and meetings with dignitaries. There is certainly some admirable incidental fooling in the account, probably written in the first place from a desire to record the zestful outing. The second thesis is not so evidently justified, but is full of interest, and at all events Mr. Mitchell makes his point. He is concerned to give significance to the figures of 'Mr. Somebody' and 'Mr. Nobody' with which Hogarth adorned the manuscript. The latter has a long ancestry, which goes back (perhaps) to Homer; both were conspicuous in the late Middle Ages down to the seventeenth century, Mr. Nobody having links with Everyman. Mr. Mitchell sets these against the background of the travellers and antiquaries who are, congenially enough, the butts of the script. Hogarth exaggerated the characteristics of the popular figures, his object being satirical. Mr. Mitchell suggests, with some plausibility, that in making these figures more grotesque than ever, he was, in Mr. Somebody, pillorying the antiquaries and the dishonest dealers who trafficked in old wares to the detriment of living artists, while Mr. Nobody represents the party of which he was a member, professing a general interest in things, and enjoying the rough life of everyday.

Both theses are supported by a weight of evidence which makes the first convincing, and the latter at least likely. Mr. Mitchell admits that the second thesis may appear far-fetched, but he adds a piece from a manuscript fragment, where a good deal of play is made with 'Nobody' and 'Everybody'. There is no reason to be too dubious about this, except the natural reaction we all of us are beginning to share against the fashionable game of reading too much into everything that anybody who is anybody has written. At any rate it is a matter well worth pondering, and does something towards illuminating the character and purpose of a man who was, after all, the most effective 'literary' painter this country has produced.

BONAMY DOBRÉE

**The Poet Wordsworth.** By HELEN DARBISHIRE. Pp. vi+182. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950. 7s. 6d. net.

**The Art of Wordsworth.** By LASCELLES ABERCROMBIE. Pp. vi+157. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1952. 10s. 6d. net.

With the exception of certain essentially unliterary speculations stimulated by the discoveries of Professors Harper and Legouis about Annette Vallon, there have probably been more good and profitable books written about Wordsworth than about any other English poet. Among so much that is good it is difficult to choose, but it may be safely asserted that the two small volumes here reviewed are the best that have appeared since Mr. H. W. Garrod's lectures and Walter Raleigh's study.

Miss Darbishire's Clark lectures for 1949 and the late Lascelles Abercrombie's Percy Turnbull lectures, delivered at the Johns Hopkins University in 1935 and now first published, are in some sense complementary; for, while Abercrombie is at his best in illuminating, stimulating, and often profound generalizations about the nature of Wordsworth's poetic experience and its significant differences from that of other poets, Miss Darbishire's book will be chiefly remembered and returned to for the sake of its many detailed and perceptive observations on particular aspects and examples of Wordsworth's poetry.

To give anything like a full account of Abercrombie's subtle and closely reasoned lectures would be impossible within the space of a short review, but an attempt may be made to summarize some of his chief 'points'.

1. He begins by attacking the common notion that Wordsworth, although a great poet, was not a great artist, insisting that it is only through his *art* that a poet can affect us by his *matter*, and that the establishment or creation of this matter in a poet's mind belongs as much to his art as does its expression in words. There is here, perhaps, some failure to make necessary distinctions and qualifications, to admit that the relation between technique and subject-matter is more intimate and inseparable with some poets than with others. It is sufficient for Abercrombie's purposes to insist that with Wordsworth it is not possible, as it is, to some extent, with other poets, to discuss his manipulation of words and rhythms apart from their meaning.

2. It is often very difficult to discover what a poet *meant* (what did Euripides 'mean' with the *Bacchae*?): hence the resort, often with unfortunate results, to biography. But in *The Prelude* we can know with absolute clearness that poetic personality which in the work of other poets we are always groping after. Throughout his great period Wordsworth's poetry is an expression of this personality, 'and this poetic personality, with its habitual style of experience, is as much a poetic creation, a work of art, as the verbal technique which communicates it'.

3. It is also, with many poets, very difficult to say, except vaguely, what their 'subject' is, but with Wordsworth there can be no doubt. His subject is nothing other than poetic experience itself, conceived as a state of mind into which all men are potentially capable of entering, as a joy that might be 'in widest commonality spread'. This is the real reason why Wordsworth was never able to

complete *The Recluse*. Such an intricate and elaborate structure as his originally imagined 'Gothic Church' could only have been achieved by a poet who had a large and complex story to tell. Wordsworth had no story: had he completed the four parts they would still have remained four parts, each a direct narrative essentially similar to its predecessors. This theme, that of a continual progress, from Homer to Virgil, from Virgil to Milton, from Milton to Wordsworth, in inwardness and subjectivity, until at last story, invention, mythology, and even doctrine have all disappeared, and the poet is left with no 'subject' except his own experience of the infinite possibilities of interaction between inner and outer—this theme is of the first importance, and one could wish that the author could at some time have found opportunity to treat it more elaborately. It is certainly a theme which the present reviewer, in the course of his long preoccupation with that greatest of modern poets Rainer Maria Rilke, has often had occasion to ponder. Wordsworth's best poetry (or much of it) is, in fact, precisely what several modern critics have objected to in Rilke's—it is poetry about poetry.

4. It is not philosophy: Wordsworth is not inviting us to follow the stages and assent to the conclusions of an argument, but to share an experience. Nevertheless, although his great theme, that of the infinite possibilities of interaction between the mind and the external world, is not itself philosophy, it cannot but stir the philosophical sense of things.

5. Abercrombie's clear apprehension of the subject of Wordsworth's greatest poetry enables him to declare more clearly and convincingly than any previous critic why Wordsworth ceased to be a great poet. Miss Darbishire candidly admits that she cannot explain why inspiration deserted him, and is content to suggest why it was that he continued to write when he was uninspired: he was strong-willed and single-minded, he had chosen poetry as his vocation, and even when inspiration failed him he did not, like Coleridge, play with metaphysics, but continued to labour doggedly in his original profession. Abercrombie, on the contrary, is not in doubt: Wordsworth, he declares, ceased to be a great poet because, unlike that of other mystics, the reality he most profoundly experienced was impersonal, and because a time came when he was no longer able to endure the solitude in and through which alone this experience was possible. The present reviewer has no doubt that Abercrombie is right, for he himself long ago reached the same conclusion as the result of a comparison, continually forced upon him, between the careers, the situations, of Wordsworth and Rilke. Rilke, whose great subject, like Wordsworth's, was that of his own experience of the possibilities of interaction between inner and outer, remained a great and continuously developing poet until the end only because he was able to withdraw from personal, social, and political ties into a solitude which even to Paul Valéry seemed almost terrifying, and which he himself often found almost beyond endurance. The cost, the conditions, of being and remaining a great and characteristically modern poet in the modern world is a theme that has not yet been sufficiently explored. There would seem to be some almost fundamental difference between a poet who can exercise an acquired technique and an accumulated experience upon subjects prescribed or given to him from without (by Holinshed, let us say, or by Plutarch) and one whose very subject-matter (or, if he is to



remain a great poet, his true subject-matter) is within, and for whom external things are chiefly valuable as symbols, correlatives, of else unutterable inwardness. Such a poet, one may say, can only continue to write great poetry so long as he is able, in a very special sense, to continue living it. This perhaps, is the real significance of Abercrombie's too unqualified statement that the establishment of his subject-matter in a poet's mind belongs as much to his art as does its expression in words. Such a poet will only remain interesting so long as his 'poetic personality' (in the sense in which Abercrombie employs that term) remains interesting, and it can only remain interesting so long as it is being continuously subjected to what Rilke called 'transformation'.

Miss Darbishire's book, though not, like Abercrombie's, an almost continuous and almost continuously exciting argument, contains much ripe fruit of a lifetime's devoted study and scholarly investigation; it also exhales, like Abercrombie's, a pervading sanity and soundness. Its finest achievement is the truly magnificent and, it may be added, indispensable, lecture on *The Prelude*, but there is much else of the highest value and many almost incidental remarks which are worth their weight in gold. Like Aristotle, Miss Darbishire is not afraid to state those grand obviousnesses which have somehow escaped our notice—the fact, for example, that Wordsworth wrote better when he had a good tradition behind him (behind 'The Vale of Esthwaite' were the octosyllabic poems of the eighteenth-century topographical poets, especially Dyer; behind the couplets of 'An Evening Walk' was Erasmus Darwin). Details she has noticed sometimes reinforce Abercrombie's general observations: he has much to say about the incompatibility between Wordsworth's poetic experience and any kind of invention: Miss Darbishire asks whether Wordsworth's essential lack of that faculty is not revealed in his poor choice of proper names for his characters. Admirable is the following incidental remark (in the course of a discussion of 'A Night Piece') on Wordsworth's stylistic indebtedness to Milton:

The images physically seen are described with Wordsworth's customary grave veracity. The sense of infinity which they invoke is given partly by words such as Milton taught him to use to contradict earthly limitation: 'immeasurably distant', 'unfathomable depth'. (Wordsworth's phrases in this kind are unforgettable: 'man's unconquerable mind', the 'incommunicable sleep of death', the 'unimaginable touch of time'.) (pp. 170-1.)

Admirable too are the following remarks on Wordsworth's blank verse:

... a kind of blank verse, familiar yet impassioned, which could rise with a natural ease from simple personal narrative to exalted meditation. This mode of blank verse which he had perfected at one stroke in 'Tintern Abbey',<sup>1</sup> with its long well-knit paragraphs and inevitable transitions, deserves to be called Wordsworthian as surely as Milton's in *Paradise Lost* to be called Miltonic. (p. 144.)

J. B. LEISHMAN

<sup>1</sup> What, though, of 'The Ruined Cottage' and all the blank verse Coleridge had admired?



**Marian Evans and George Eliot: A Biography.** By LAWRENCE and ELISABETH HANSON. Pp. xiv+402. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1952. 25s. net.

A new biography of George Eliot has long been needed. Cross's work in its own way was admirable, but Cross was concerned to present the woman whom in 1876 Lewes had suddenly started to call, not Polly as before, but Madonna. 'I am so tired', George Eliot once complained to the Burne-Joneses, 'of being set on a pedestal and expected to vent wisdom—I am only a poor woman.' Since Dr. Haight published *George Eliot and John Chapman*, the 'poor woman' has been brought back. Dr. Haight found 'the key to an understanding of her extraordinary life' in the words of Bray: 'She was not fitted to stand alone.' That phrase might well serve as epigraph to *Marian Evans and George Eliot*. Its authors use an image that would have shocked Marian: 'There are people who travel through life as the monkey through the tree, swinging from one branch to another, the next always a little nearer the goal, but discarded only when the branch nearer still is gripped. Of such a kind was Marian emotionally.' We watch her progress from Bray to Dr. Brabant, from Chapman to Herbert Spencer; then comes a chapter entitled 'Interregnum', after which, in Lewes's own words, Marian Evans 'is extinct, rolled up, quashed, absorbed in the Lewesian magnificence'. And when Lewes dies, she finds a new happiness with John Cross. Such is the life of George Eliot, minus the novels, and it makes rather distressful reading. In the novels themselves we meet with the passionate longing for a 'woman's mission'. And we recall the occasions when this longing upsets their artistic balance, and the author's habitual poise and irony are lost in day-dreaming.

This 'poor piece of feminine flesh' is the subject of *Marian Evans and George Eliot*. The book is agreeably written, in the style of kindred biographies: 'Marian sat on a low ottoman by the french windows, and Bray recalled years afterwards her "modest demeanour" as she sat there' (p. 50). 'Marian enjoyed her stay. She was soon at home in Chapman's ground floor offices and shop. Upstairs, she met the children . . .' (p. 106). 'She now had a full, almost too full life. She had at last a place of her own, where Lewes could come when he pleased without obvious comment . . .' (p. 160). These chapter-openings are not, of course, typical of the book throughout. There is much able comment and careful drawing together of threads. We are shown glimpses of Marian as her friends saw her—the 'harsh, heavy look' on her face that deterred Bessie Belloc at their first meeting; we hear the Congreves inferring that there must be 'a coarse streak' in her, for 'how otherwise could she have tolerated Mr. Lewes?' (It is a pity the authors did not refer to Mrs. Gaskell's dismayed comments upon the match, for these illustrate very clearly how great a prejudice, even in compassionate people, Marian had to overcome.) Lewes himself emerged before this in Dr. Kitchell's study. From Cross we gather little except that he was hard-working and devoted. All this background to George Eliot had to be restored in living colour, and the authors have done it well, basing their work on a mass of published material, on family papers, and on family traditions. (The references are sometimes confusing, and two different books are described in abbreviated form as 'Stephen'.) It seems unlikely that we shall require a fuller biography in this mould.

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But to restore Marian Evans is not necessarily to deepen our understanding of George Eliot on all sides. Mr. and Mrs. Hanson write a few pages on each of the novels, and their comments, which for the most part add little to those of Dr. Leavis, are helpful when dealing with certain passages where the woman of their biography stands out—the flight of Maggie with Stephen Guest, the interviews between Mrs. Transom and Jermy. Here indeed George Eliot writes a different prose, fully dramatic and fast-moving. The authors are right in stressing the fact. Yet are such passages the most compelling reason for our reading George Eliot? Too little is said in this biography of the intellectual woman who commanded the respect of Herbert Spencer, Acton, and Henry Sidgwick. Cross supplies an important side which Mr. and Mrs. Hanson virtually neglect. He did attempt to record the growth of her mind, reproducing, for example, the survey she herself wrote of Hennell's *Inquiry*, and her review of Mackay's *Progress of the Intellect*. All this was evidence for a trained critical judgement like Leslie Stephen's to play upon. Stephen was interested in the wonderfully gifted woman who dominated the *Westminster Review* and wrote novels revealing 'powers of mind and a richness of emotional nature rarely equalled' in such works. He saw her as an intellectual force shaped by and in turn shaping Victorian society. In the present biography one hears altogether too little about the age of George Eliot. Cross wrote a skilful and penetrating 'Introductory Sketch' in which he placed Marian Evans firmly in the provincial society of her childhood. Stephen borrowed from this for his own first chapter. Naturally a modern biographer will be reluctant to travel again over such well-trodden ground, but it is disappointing to find that Cross's method has hardly been followed anywhere by Mr. and Mrs. Hanson. *George Eliot's Life as Related in her Letters and Journals* has the grave fault that in it, as Cross admits, 'no single letter is printed entire from the beginning to the end'. Dr. Haight's edition of the letters will before long remedy this. Meanwhile Cross's *Life* still remains the richest quarry to work for the understanding of George Eliot's mind, just as Stephen's book continues to give the most balanced verdict on her life and achievement. Those who seek Marian Evans, the deeply emotional and impulsive woman whose suffering was recompensed by her art, will be grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Hanson. Marian was still present in Madonna, and we should not forget it. But George Eliot was greater than her concealed and her public selves. A definitive life of George Eliot has still to be written.

HENRY GIFFORD

**Essays and Studies, 1951:** being Volume IV of the New Series of Essays and Studies. Collected for the English Association by GEOFFREY TILLOTSON. Pp. iv+149. London: John Murray, 1951. 10s. 6d. net.

The present collection offers variety of interest within a limited range of subjects, consisting of two essays on Johnson, two on Dickens, and three others respectively on Raleigh, Milton, and general linguistics.

Under the title 'Sir Walter Raleigh's Gold Mine' Agnes M. C. Latham recounts the tale of Raleigh's ill-fated expedition to Guiana in 1616, using material which has become available since the publication of V. T. Harlow's *Raleigh's Last Voyage*. This material, which relates to the part played in the affair by Raleigh's

lieutenant, Captain Keymis, comes from a manuscript, until recently in the possession of the Bacon-Frank family, containing seventeenth-century transcripts of five hitherto unpublished documents, three of which—two letters of Keymis and a corroboration of his statements signed by six of his men—are printed at the conclusion of the article. From this evidence it would appear that Keymis and not Raleigh led the expedition into the interior and that consequently his defection, both in attacking St. Thome and in failing to discover the mine, sealed the fate of his master. Here is an exciting and a tragic story which loses nothing in the telling.

A comprehensive study, by J. B. Leishman, of 'L' *Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* in their Relation to Seventeenth-Century Poetry' includes discussion of Milton's indebtedness to the similar companion-pieces by Fletcher and Strode, the character of his wit, the meaning he attributes to melancholy, and parallelism with the works of earlier poets, particularly Shakespeare, in his diction, phrasing, and imagery. By comparison with their analogues the two poems are represented as peerless examples of Milton's originality, which 'consists simply in doing better, more economically, more tellingly, things which other poets had done, or had tried to do before'—success attributable to 'the observance of decorum, the subordination of the parts to the whole, the placing of words in a line, of lines in a passage, of passages in a poem'. A bare summary cannot do justice to this penetrating essay, which demands and deserves close reading and in which a number of familiar topics, for instance Milton's treatment of nature, are presented in a new light. (On page 20 the opening line of *The Faerie Queene*, I. v. ii is misquoted.)

Mary Lascelles, reconsidering *Rasselas*, contributes a well-rounded defence of Johnson's philosophical romance against the aspersions of contemporary and later readers dismayed by its gloom and apparent pessimism. The oriental tale, as typified in John Kirkby's *Automathes*, accorded both with Johnson's temperament and with his immediate object by virtue of its idealized setting, its episodic structure, and the scope which it offered for the fusion of allegory with anecdote. 'There is more of Johnson in *Rasselas* than is commonly recognised', not merely the reflection of personal grief and a prevailing mood of disappointment but touches of comic narration and splendid prose cadences. Its moral, like that of *The Fountains*—and, it might be added, at a different level, of *The Vanity of Human Wishes*—is not a counsel of despair but a challenge to false optimism. The other Johnson, of which *Rasselas* conveys no hint, is revealed in W. Russell Brain's brief study, 'Dr. Johnson and the Kangaroo', developed from a footnote to the 1852 edition of the *Tour of the Hebrides* by the editor, John Carruthers, on the authority of Grant, minister at Calder. According to the latter, when on one occasion the shape and motions of the kangaroo were being discussed 'Johnson rose from his chair and volunteered an imitation of the animal', first standing erect with outstretched arms like feelers, then, gathering up his coat-tails so as to resemble the kangaroo's pouch, making 'two or three vigorous bounds across the room'. An ingenious, if somewhat far-fetched chain of evidence—from roasted kid to goat, thence to Mr. Banks the explorer and so to the kangaroo—is cited in support of Grant's anecdote, which is certainly worth preserving.

Eleanor Rooke's essay on 'Fathers and Sons in Dickens' is little more than a summary account of Dickens's portrayals of family relations and especially of the father-son theme which, in the writer's view, 'did not stir his imagination' and which therefore savour of 'book-making rather than creation', probably as a direct consequence of his early environment and lifelong grudge against his father. An important contribution both to criticism and to scholarship within the same field is made by John Butt and Kathleen Tillotson in their study of 'Dickens at Work on *Dombey and Son*', based upon evidence from the text, the allegorical cover-design (reproduced in an illustration), the manuscript, including the number plans, the proof-sheets, and Dickens's correspondence. Through a judicious correlation of material, which in itself is of great interest, much light is thrown upon Dickens's methods and technique at different phases in the evolution of this novel, with which he 'begins a new chapter in his work, paying greater attention than previously to structure and design'.

In the concluding essay, representing 'an attempt to sketch the framework of a language of description in English about English for those who use English', J. B. Firth discusses 'Modes of Meaning' at different levels of abstraction—phonetic, phonological, prosodic, grammatical, and by collocation—with illustrations from familiar writings of the last two centuries. The essay provides a stimulating introduction to the disciplines and techniques of linguistics as operating in spoken and written English.

B. E. C. DAVIS

## SHORT NOTICE

**Dramatic Characterization in Printed Commentaries on Terence, 1473-1600.** By EDWIN W. ROBBINS. Pp. x+122 (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, vol. xxxv, no. 4). Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1951. \$2.00 paper, \$3.00 cloth.

Mr. Robbins's book belongs to the same category and proceeds from the same workshop as previous studies by T. W. Baldwin and M. T. Herrick. In five chapters he reports on the views of sixteenth-century Terentian commentators concerning the nature of comedy and its moral utility, decorum in comedy, and the personages as types and varieties of types: all these are studied strictly as factors governing the delineation of comic characters. A sixth chapter sets forth the commentators' approving observations on Terence's subordination of character to plot. Although it is useful to have some of the details arranged in order, much in the commentaries might have been inferred from what is already generally known about the history of drama and of education during the Reformation. This book is, therefore, less exciting than Mr. Baldwin's and deals with a far narrower field than Mr. Herrick's *Comic Theory in the Sixteenth Century*. Believing as he does that the evolution of Terentian influence on comic characterization may be studied in three separable phases—the background in commentary, the Renaissance plays written in Latin and Greek in imitation of Terence, and the vernacular drama—Mr. Robbins confines himself diligently to the first phase. If he is occasionally tempted from this straight and narrow path by such interesting matters as the affinities of the generalized character type to the speaking abstractions of the moral play (p. 12), Macropedius and the Christian Terence (p. 37), or decorum in diction (p. 43), he always remembers his assignment before he has succeeded in seriously distracting his reader's attention from the task in hand. His book is thus in the nature of an interim report; final judgement on its usefulness must await further demonstration of the exact degree of relevance which pedagogic commentaries bear to the art of a Jonson or a Shakespeare.

PETER URE

# SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

By A. MACDONALD

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